

Industry's Gigantic Mergers

Labor Age

1914--The War to End War
1929--Mars in Masquerade

A LABOR PROGRAM FOR PEACE

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CONTENTS:

	PAGE
FOLLOWING THE FIGHT.... <i>Louis Francis Budenz</i>	1
NO MORE WAR	<i>A. J. Muste</i> 3
MARS STILL MASQUERADING..... <i>Tucker P. Smith</i>	6
A CENOTAPH FOR THE UNKNOWN WORKER <i>Helen Sahler</i>	9
A. F. OF L.'S ISOLATION POLICY.....	10
MILITANT MARION..... <i>John Herling</i>	11
FRAME-UP—SOUTHERN STYLE..... <i>Mack Elliott</i>	13
INDUSTRY'S GIGANTIC MERGERS..... <i>Justus Ebert</i>	15
THE SCATTERED PROGRESSIVES.. <i>Clinton S. Golden</i>	18
C. P. L. A. AT WORK.....	20
RESEARCH FOR WORKERS..... <i>Louis Stanley</i>	23
FLASHES FROM THE LABOR WORLD <i>Harvey O'Connor</i>	24
IN OTHER LANDS..... <i>Patrick L. Quinlan</i>	26
SAY IT WITH BOOKS:	
THE A B C BOOK OF INTERNATIONALISM....	27
THE NEXT TEN YEARS IN BRITISH SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY	28

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Following the Fight

With Comment Thereon

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

OUR AIM:

To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized
To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

Defeating Defeatism

Short-Circuited Strikes and the Progressive Promise

NEW ORLEANS is in the throes of a street car strike upon which we might pause for a moment's consideration. It has put the Creole City on the coveted front page in an uncoveted way. Riots have been reported, but the basic things which cause normally quiet human beings to break forth in violence have been consciously forgotten. Criminals running amuck at Dannemora and Auburn create a demand for a remedying of the vile conditions which should have been remedied long ago. Workers receive less considerate treatment, as they have resigned themselves to a status which requires no alarm on the part of those in power.

The important thing, however, is that which has followed at New Orleans. The Public Service Company has been granted the right to bring in the vile scum that act as strikebreakers. A Federal Court, as usual, has shown itself the bitter enemy of Industrial Democracy and the pliant tool of the anti-union interests. It has sought in no way to consider the fundamental reason for the difficulty. It has not gone into the merits of the case. It has merely granted a sweeping injunction—Power's stupid answer to rebellion—and has placed armed United States marshals on the cars.

Today the workers in New Orleans submit to these armed "Marshals." Tomorrow the gnawing anger at the government strikebreaker may cause them to fire upon the guardians of scabs. If not in New Orleans, it may be done elsewhere. Strikers will do that, or they will fall back into a sullen despair.

Those who regard the letting of blood with equanimity may see no harm in the former possibility. Those who think that all goes well in this best of worlds may consider the latter a sort of Divine scheme. But Labor, pacifistic as it must be to be true to itself and militant as it must be to be true to its ideals, betrays itself if it acquiesces in either possibility.

The Labor Movement cannot do justice to its mission unless it faces the problem raised by New Orleans and every other strike that takes place. The answer is simple: Labor must take control of the government and the courts, not for some set of self-seeking politicians, but for itself. It must make a small beginning; but more important still, it must have the viewpoint which makes independent political action possible. It must dedicate itself to the great program of Peace, Power and Freedom for the Workers. If it does not do that, strikes will be short-circuited in any great struggle, and Defeatism will grow and wax fat in their wake.

That is not a plea for a quickening of the independent political viewpoint as a fetish and a cure-all. It is a statement of the need for a feeling of independence on the part of the Movement, and the consequent resort to every agency of action that will bring the workers greater power. It is one thing to look upon the government of old-party politicians as something to be cajoled and bribed, if possible, in one way or another. It is quite another thing to believe that Labor has a strength and resourcefulness of its own that must be respected if they be asserted. The Progressive program calls for this sort of idealism. It is a promise that the Movement will seek to be IT-SELF, not a cheap imitation of its enemies.

Springing out of that understanding, we will see not only a viewing of governmental agencies in their right perspective. We will see also a return to that fighting spirit on the industrial field, which has almost fled from community after community in our country.

Let us pick out a typical American city, as an example. It is York, Pa., rendered famous or infamous of late as the alleged center of the witchcraft movement. Whether that charge be true or not, it is evident that the workers are under an economic "hex" spell of no small magnitude. The central labor body is unknown in public life. The Chamber of Commerce, on the contrary, is

all-assertive. It presumes to speak for the entire electorate. The Manufacturers Associations rears its head proudly, with a building of its own. An interfactory foreman's club binds the petty bosses together in conspiracy against the workers. The big printing concerns are almost exclusively anti-union shops. The anti-union forces are highly organized; the workers are unorganized and helpless.

That is no particular reflection upon that particular city or its particular labor groups. Go to another city, and to a greater or less degree, the same set of facts can be inserted.

Only a fiery and intelligent assertion of power on the part of the Labor Movement can arouse the workers of that community or of any other place. A moment's investigation reveals that the pressmen's organizing problems were handled in that city in a tight-fisted, bungling manner. Beyond that, has this city of York or any other city been deluged with propaganda, such as Kenosha and little Hackettstown have experienced of late to the great good of Labor? Answer sayeth No. The wider Movement has not yet drawn on its first-line resources, even. It has not caught fire. How then can it fire others to the beginnings of revolt?

When the American Federation of Labor decides that it is to be a power on its own account, it will begin to awaken the unorganized effectively and to march forward to steady victories.

BUT WHERE'S THE MONEY?

IN a word, the various sections of the Movement are inter-dependent. The fight of one is the fight of all. A union on strike or in the midst of an organizing drive should not consider itself alone. It must arouse the unorganized in other industries in the community of its operations, or it is likely to perish.

The various tactics of the Movement are also inter-dependent. An independent political viewpoint, aggressive industrial action, widespread publicity and education march hand in hand. The fault of the A. F. of L. in this Year of Our Lord is that it answers Apathy with Apathy, Despair with Despair, Inactivity with Inactivity. It has a tremendous task on its hands; why not be about it in a tremendous way?

The "practical-minded" laborite—who looks contemptuously upon "intellectuals", "radicals" and new ideas in general—has something to say on that. And it is something which cannot be wiped out with a shrug. "Where is the money for all this coming from", says he. "It is all very well to have smart ideas, but what are they without money?" All right. We agree. But it is enthusiasm, brother, which attracts money. A fighting spirit, shown in action, brings friends. Dry as dust, Business Unionism has its good

points; but those are not points that will organize the mass of the unorganized, or will create the admiration which "brings in the coin."

Money is spent by the A. F. of L. in unenthusiastic, dull adventures that could easily finance the beginnings of a movement with fire. There is the Workers' Education Bureau, for one thing. Its funds could be used to arouse the masses, instead of to confound and confuse through intellectual sewing circles.

The money will come, if the fight is once begun. Let the A. F. of L. try this experiment: In a city where there is a lively, intelligently-directed, propaganda-creating strike on foot, let it throw in organizers for every industry to reap the benefits of the education done by the union involved. Let it choose organizers who do not see obstacles around every corner, but are carefully chosen because of their intelligence and spirit. Let it co-operate in the political battle that is sure to ensue, out of such a situation. Let a great Union Revival movement go on, with the strike, not a mere superficial attempt here and there to "get in" on the strike wave. If carried out properly, that experiment will be a success. One city will be won to Unionism—and others around it will be shaken out of their inertia. There will be hope renewed, and hope is the parent of achievement. Flushed with success, we can then move on to another city for another test.

Converts are not secured by Doubting Thomases. The Movement must believe in itself, in order to be saved.

WANTED: RESOURCEFULNESS

WE can boil it all down to this: Resourcefulness is wanted in our organizing activities. We can realize that there are stone walls in our path, but can determine to go through them or over them.

The great fault at present is that resourcefulness is lacking. Nor can it be expected from those who make themselves tails to old party kites. They are hobbled economically by the petty jobs given them and by the interlocking associations created, before they start. Nor can it come from those who look upon criticism as a sort of treason to the Movement. A democratic, living organization cannot function without helpful criticism. And nothing has been so sinister in the late history of the A. F. of L. as the absence of such questioning.

We must encourage minds which are not bound by things as they are and are not afraid of a bit of daring, if it gives some promise of results. The labor unions that exist were created by such minds. These unions can be made to build up a greater Movement, if they do not place themselves in intellectual strait-jackets.

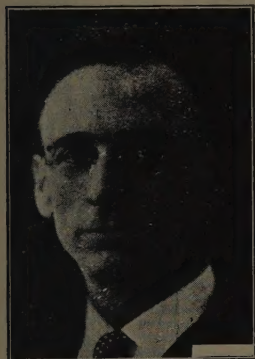
Out of self-questioning and resourceful experimentation will arise progress and growth.

No More War

August 1914 — August 1929

By A. J. MUSTE

FIFTEEN years ago this August day, hell was let loose in Europe. The lords of finance and war gave the command and millions of workers marched to the battle field and set about with tremendous energy to blow



A. J. MUSTE

each other's brains and vitals out. In a few years millions of men were killed, and back of the battle lines women and children died of starvation and pestilence; countless numbers were wounded and maimed; stores of mental and physical energy beyond all computation were diverted from constructive to destructive ends; billions of dollars worth of property were destroyed. Only with

infinite pains Europe stumbled back gradually to normalcy. Even now thousands of men broken in body, mind and spirit by the war walk the earth.

The most tragic feature of what happened on that August day, 1914, from the labor standpoint, was that hundreds of thousands of those workers who obeyed the commands of the lords of finance and war were members of trade unions and labor political organizations, who knew something about the system under which they lived, and had many times sworn that they would not be used to slay their fellow workers. Instead of keeping to that purpose they went out in obedience to their real enemies to kill their brothers!

All that was fifteen years ago. It is well to dwell on it a little—lest we forget!

If war on a large scale comes again, it will be so horrible, according to the testimony of all those who know anything about it, that the Great War of 1914-1918 will seem like a pleasant holiday in comparison. When you see a lovely aeroplane sailing along the blue, remember that less than 500 of those silvery birds, each equipped with a bomb, could wipe out the whole civilization of a country like England or of the industrial cities of Northeastern America.

Yet, war is possible. There are war clouds on several horizons at this moment. No one knows when those clouds will come together and cause the electric spark that will let loose the terror. Plenty of people living in your neighborhood and mine talk glibly of the next war and expect it. The United States, which in 1912 spent less than \$250,000,000 for national defense, is spending over \$600,000,000 this year.

War might wipe out Western civilization altogether

and bring the night of a new dark age down on Europe and America. Certainly, all hope of achieving the cooperative commonwealth, a decent social order by a fairly peaceful evolution will be dashed if another great war breaks.

The workers of the world, therefore, have no greater task before them than the prevention of war. The workers of the United States have the greatest responsibility of all, because we are today the mightiest nation on earth. We can, therefore, best afford to forego war; we can do most to prevent it; we are also most in danger of following the course of mighty nations of the past and becoming, unconsciously perhaps, imperialist bullies who press the alternative of war or ignominious submission upon their weaker fellows.

Steps to End War

These things need not be argued at length. The important question is what are we going to do about it? How can we, the workers of the United States, do our share in the prevention and abolition of war? Let us name some of the concrete steps which progressive laborites may take.

1. *Help in your own city to eliminate from the schools old fashioned history and civics' text books that stress the glory of war and whip up a jingoistic patriotism. Substitute modern scientific texts which emphasize the achievements of peace, the role of the workers in the development of modern civilization, the heroism of explorers, inventors, scientists, physicians, pioneers in radical causes, laborers.* (Write such organizations as the American Federation of Labor, National Council for Prevention of War and American Federation of Teachers for information on this subject.)

2. *Get your children and those of your fellow workers to join such organizations as Pioneer Youth, which in its recreational and educational work stresses the points just mentioned, instead of having your children join boys' and girls' organizations which have military features, glorify war heroes and develop a nationalistic patriotism.*

3. *Oppose the introduction of Reserve Officers' Training Corps (R. O. T. C.) units in your high school and have them removed where they are in operation. The A. F. of L. is on record against this effort to introduce the R. O. T. C. into the high schools and so to militarize the minds of children and youth, for that is all that is accomplished by this movement.*

4. *Keep the labor organizations with which you are connected from giving any official support to the Citizens' Military Training Camp (C. M. T. C.) movement. You need not be a pacifist to realize that labor has plenty of other things to do at the present time. It is doubtful how much actual preparation that would count for anything in war is obtained at these camps.*

TEACHERS' UNION MARCHES AHEAD

THE American Federation of Teachers held its annual convention in Chicago during the past month. Reports of officers indicated that the organization has had a 50 per cent increase in membership during the past two years; it has a balance instead of a deficit in the treasury; though still having only a small percentage of the tens of thousands of teachers in the country in its membership, it is exerting a powerful influence on the educational systems of such strategic centers as Atlanta, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Chicago, New York.

Such a record is indeed encouraging and prompts certain reflections of interest to all laborites.

The A. F. of T. has capable and devoted leadership. The president, secretary-treasurer and national legislative representative are all women—Miss Mary Barker of Atlanta, Ga.; Mrs. Florence Hanson of Chicago, Ill.; Miss Selma Borchardt of Washington, D. C. Perhaps it would be a good thing for the American labor movement if more internationals had women among their leading officials!

The A. F. of T. has the will to organize. Locals and members are contributing to a special organization fund. Active members of several of the locals go out campaigning for the organization in neighboring cities. Such men as George Googe, A. F. of L. organizer in Georgia, has also rendered valuable assistance.

Teachers are white-collar workers and supposedly hard to organize. White-collar workers, professional

people, clerical workers, etc., are on the increase. As their number increases, a larger percentage of them perform more routine tasks and they begin to realize that they are essentially wage earners and that their sole protection lies in organization. The leaders of the A. F. of T. realize this and are taking advantage of the situation to push organization efforts.

The A. F. of T. is a progressive organization. In addition to those already mentioned, such well-known progressives as Henry Linville, E. E. Schwarzauber, A. Lefkowitz, A. J. Muste and other are among its officers.

The A. F. of T. is militant. It is waging a vigorous campaign, which promises before long to be successful, to eliminate the yellow-dog contract in the Seattle school system. It has stood squarely by Brookwood and Brookwood Local 189, A. F. of T., during the past year, when the A. F. of L. officialdom made its crude and unjust attack on that outstanding labor educational institution—this action in support of Brookwood being described by Prof. Paul Douglas of the University of Chicago in a notable address at the Chicago convention as the finest thing the organization had done during the past year.

Such energy, courage and militancy are bound to win and indicate the reasons for the progress being made by the teachers' organization.

Congratulations to the American Federation of Teachers!

The chief result is again to militarize the minds of young people and make them feel that war is inevitable and justifiable. That is a pernicious thing which labor should set all its energies to combat.

There is good reason to believe, as the delegate of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor to a recent A. F. of L. convention pointed out, that the C. M. T. C.s are dominated by the Military Training Camps' Association, composed largely of open shop employers, which does its best to see that the camps turn out scabs and strike-breakers.

Another Militaristic Gesture

In view of this, it is lamentable that as the Federated Press reports, President Green has become Chairman of a committee to raise money for incidental expenses of the C. M. T. C. in the 3rd Army Corps Area, which includes Washington, D. C. Whatever the intention may be, the effect of this action of President Green is that a gesture of support is given by American labor to militaristic tendencies and to preparedness for war, and this precisely at a time when President Hoover is supposed to be conferring with Ramsay MacDonald, the Premier of Great Britain, on plans to make the world free of war. Furthermore, such an act at such a time as this will tend to widen the breach between labor in America and labor in Europe.

While President Green heads a campaign to raise money for the C. M. T. C., A. F. of L. strikers in the South are starving for lack of sufficient relief. It would be better for President Green to adopt the policy not

a cent from labor for military training, at least so long as one solitary striker has less than enough to support himself and his family in decency. Write to President Green and get your labor organizations to write protesting his action.

5. *Support the movement to abolish private manufacture of arms and munitions of war, so that nobody will be tempted for the sake of private profit to foment and encourage future wars.* This proposal was advanced many years ago by William Johnsten, then President of the International Association of Machinists, and has recently been put forth by him again.

6. *Resist every effort to increase the military establishment of the United States and see that your Congressmen and Senators are pledged to this proposition.* The United States is in no danger of attack. We have signed the Kellogg multi-lateral peace pact, in which we join with practically all other countries of any importance in declaring that we will not resort to war for any purpose whatever. If that treaty is not a scrap of paper and our signing of it not a ghastly joke, in view of what war will mean if it ever breaks out again, then it is silly of us to take steps now to increase our armaments.

Armaments are a burden on the tax payer. The worker pays for them and gets nothing out of them.

In this connection, all workers should give the heartiest support of the A. F. of L.'s position in opposition to the American Legion Bill to conscript labor in war time.

MUNITIONS PROFITEERING



Locomotive Engineers Journal

This "whoopie party" must stop

7. We must go further and insist that our government cooperate with other powers with the utmost energy and speed in order to reduce, not merely limit, armaments. In view of the signing of the peace pact, it is almost as silly to spend hundreds of millions of dollars for national defense as it would be to increase expenditures for that purpose.

Demand Arms Cut

The labor government of Great Britain is in conference with our representatives in London on this subject. With labor or liberal forces in the ascendency for the time being in a number of European countries, there is a chance that something may be accomplished, but it will take constant pressure from the masses of people and from all lovers of peace to do this. Write yourself, and get your organization to write President Hoover, that you want drastic reductions in armaments; and that you want arrangements made at the earliest possible moment for the visit of Premier Ramsay MacDonald of Great Britain to this country. If arrangements for the MacDonald visit are not made soon, British Tories may find some excuse to put the labor government in England out of business again.

8. *Press for the recognition of Soviet Russia by our government and the resumption of normal relations with that country.* The pious pleas that we ought not to recognize Russia because there is a dictatorship, etc., are all cheap stuff. We did not seem to have had any difficulty in recognizing Mussolini years ago and let-

ting him off with paying the United States about 35 cents on the dollar for the war debts Italy owed us. One need not be a Communist, only an honest worker, to realize that the peace of the world is insecure so long as so great a country as Russia is kept out of normal relations with other powers—so long, furthermore, as there is effort on the part of imperialists and militarists to hamper the Russian experiment in workers' control.

9. *Oppose all imperialistic adventures of our government.* Never again must United States' marines be sent into a Latin American country as they were into Nicaragua. Let Labor say to American investors abroad in an unmistakable fashion that American boys are not going to any foreign land to protect the investments of American exploiters in those countries. If people invest abroad the money not paid to American workers in wages, let them trust to the authorities in those countries to safeguard such investments.

10. *Finally, the best way to make America a force for peace and not for war in the world is to strengthen the forces of labor in America and to make American labor international in its spirit and purpose.*

Workers Pay War's Price

The workers are not as individuals any less blood-thirsty probably than the shirkers. But it may be to the interest of exploiters to wage war and to crush out human lives. War is not to the interest of the workers—they slave to produce the surplus wealth which is invested in "backward countries" and provokes international rivalries; they have to do the fighting and suffering, while war is actually in progress; and they pay the bills for it afterwards. Therefore, as labor becomes powerful, the war demon becomes weak. Let progressive laborites battle on then to introduce militancy, aggressiveness and energy into our American labor movement, and they will make America by just so much a force for peace on earth. How high the hopes of peace lovers mounted recently with the Labor Party victory in Great Britain!

But labor itself must not fall prey to a narrow nationalism, must not help to build up tariff walls against foreign nations, must not be flabby in its opposition to militaristic measures, must not acquiesce in the militaristic adventures of our government, as the A. F. of L. leadership has unfortunately done all too frequently in recent years.

Slushy opposition to war is easily transformed at the critical moment into shouting for war.

American labor must not hold itself aloof from labor in other countries, must not try to build up a spurious pan-American internationalism, which does more to separate us from the workers of Europe, Africa and Asia than to bind us to the workers of Central and South America. Let us insist in all our unions, co-operative societies, study classes, political groups, on an ever-closer unity of American labor with the labor forces of all other countries.

By such means as these we may give reality and genuineness to our vow on this fifteenth anniversary of the outbreak of the Great War that *it shall not happen again.*

Mars Still Masquerading

Sex Appeal To Boost Militarism

By TUCKER P. SMITH

FOR centuries Mr. Average Man has accepted the constantly recurrent scourge of war as inevitable—in a class with earthquakes, cyclones, floods and droughts. Time and again he has meekly and even enthusiastically given of his life, his children, his energy, his hard-earned money, his hopes, and his ideals at the call of Mars. For the great mass of men in modern times the only return for such devotion has been the purely sentimental considerations of “dying like heroes,” “upholding their national honor,” “defending democracies,” “doing their duty like good citizens,” and of fighting for the best country in the world. Now and then individuals ask what it is all about, where it all leads, or what is the gain, but for most men either the glory of war or conscription acts (now passed by their own representatives) have been quite enough to hold their loyalty to the practice.

Modern democracy and representative government seems to the present writer to have increased rather than decreased the willingness of men to die in wars which bring them, personally, only sentimental rewards to compensate their very practical contributions and losses.

The question then arises, “Why will Mr. Average Citizen foot the bill of blood and taxes necessary for future wars—if he does so?” The answer is that the war response, the response to the call to arms, is a habit so deeply ingrained in men that they go to war before they stop to think—thinking of a fashion later supplies the “reasons” for their conduct. This “flying to arms in defense” of something sacred is not an inherent instinct, born in man, but it is a complex of habits carefully built up in Mr. Average Citizen from the cradle to the grave. We learned this technique of training men to be ready and willing to fly to arms when there was some reason for it, when semi-barbaric or barbaric tribes still wandered over the earth “attacking” sleeping villagers. It may have had survival value then but now this hair-trigger preparedness, mental preparedness even more than physical, is the very condition which prevents the “law and order,” the “security” modern nations seek and require.

Preventing future wars is not so much dependent upon eliminating the imperialist or the stupid diplomat—we may expect always to have a few of these ranting about—as upon deflating this pumped-up readiness to fight which makes Mr. Average Citizen emotionally unstable in the face of certain appeals to his sentimental patriotism. This does not mean that peace must wait for a thinking citizenry, but rather for a citizenry sentimental along other lines—a citizenry that may parade and shout and sing and wave banners when it goes on an emotional jag, but does not place a military band and a few feudally-minded military men and

politicians at the head of the parade. Stop teaching men to march to martial music or to become deranged in the presence of military uniforms, or military slogans. Give them banners, leaders, songs, crusades more in keeping with modern life, and the shouting of the militarist and the imperialist will fall on unresponsive ears while appeals to reason and to their own welfare will have at least an even chance of being heard.

But Mars is still up to his old tricks! Since the war there has been, under the National Defense Act of 1920, a vigorous extension of military training in our public high schools and in our colleges and universities. In 1912 approximately 30,000 boys in civil educational institutions were receiving a mild form of military work under 87 officers assigned by the War Department—many were retired officers. In 1928, 125,000 boys in 225 of our largest and most important universities, city high school systems and preparatory schools were being given military courses outlined and directed by the War Department through 1821 officers and men stationed in these high schools and colleges. Some fifty additional colleges and high school systems were being supplied equipment or instructors, or both, for military work just a little less completely under War Department control. In about two-thirds of these colleges and one-half the high schools listed, this training is compulsory, if a boy wants to graduate.

Enlisting Young Beauties

Citizens and societies that still worship at the shrine of Mars are using every resource for increasing the extent and influence of this training. It is being popularized by every art known to this ancient religion of war-worship. The prettiest girls in the high school or college are urged to compete for positions as honorary officers. In many places the corps of these young ladies doing the most to boost the military unit (usually an R. O. T. C. unit) are given loving cups or military capes, or some other prize to stimulate them. These young beauties “all dolled up” in showy uniforms, are used as trimming for gala parades and public displays, not to mention colorful military balls, where the community, especially the growing boys and girls are invited to join in the devotions to Mars.

What do they teach these boys and girls? Many things we might note at length, if space permitted. We might quote juicy and damaging statements from addresses, articles, text-books, and letters of military men assigned to the task of preparing youth to accept war as inevitable, to look upon life as a mad jungle in which the biggest brutes survive, etc., etc. But the most terrible thing we can say about the system is that *it is preparing youth to follow in the ways of their fathers*—fathers who were caught by the World War

A CHARMING SIREN



Pacific & Atlantic Photo

This young lady was chosen as Honorary Colonel of the Regiment at a Mid-Western University from over fifty candidates for the job.

and will be caught by the next appeal to die on the field of glory, unless they are freed of certain sentimental attitudes. Military service is dolled up with all its traditional halos. And small boys learn to think of war in terms of snappy uniforms, polished leather, showy parades, stirring music, and a position at the head of the line as the goal for all.

What does this mean for Labor? Some working men answer, "Free camps for our boys in summer, free uniforms in school, pay, honor—why not take it?" One might as truly say that angling means worms

for the active members of the finny tribes! Some years ago the judges of a contest put on by the magazine, "Life," gave the prize for the best method of starting a war to an appeal that we go on just as we are going. And does any sensible working man think that labor will profit by the next great war?

Working men who support this training should also know that some of these colleges are quite frank about who will fight the next war. An annual catalog for 1928 says (p. 218), "The University of Florida feels that in case war should come, it is preferable for its graduates to serve as officers rather than in the ranks." President W. W. Campbell of University of California, said to its regiment, on December 7, 1925, "Let us not forget that the R. O. T. C. is to train our college men to be officers, not privates, in case of war." President Brooks of the University of Missouri is reported (Columbia Missourian 11-5-25) to have made substantially the same statement to their cadet corps.

Pressure Upon Congress

The laboring man should also know that in 1927 War-Department-controlled military training in our schools and colleges cost in tax money over ten times as much as the home and foreign work of the State Department, which should be, and recently has been functioning as a department of peace. With so many young people enjoying the "benefits" of this training we can expect pressure upon Congress to devote more to this end.

The supporters of military training make much of the teaching of "citizenship" by military officers. In fairness to the professional soldier it must be said that he quite naturally and rightly considers readiness to die on the field of battle the first and prime duty of the citizen. Never blame a soldier for believing in his own work. But laborers should be conscious of the fact that for civilians there are great piles of problems facing the citizen which military men never face at all—or never face with the outlook of a civilian.

Two phrases which appear often in this talk about citizenship are "respect for authority" and "developing leadership." Workers who have seen soldiers used in a strike may be able to understand what some of these people mean. It is probably no accident that many ardent supporters of the American Plan of labor "management" are also enthusiastic about placing military officers in the schools to teach respect for authority, law and order. Whether the system works that way or not, many of these devotees of the art of Mars appear to hope to harness upon youth a "discipline" which will keep them where they ought to be. Here is a letter from one of them. "I

PRETTY GIRLS ATTRACT RECRUITS



Central Press Photo

This photo has appeared in the press of the country with this inscription, "Always filled are the ranks of the R. O. T. C. (at a Western High School). The photo shows the reason. These girls are sponsors of the organization and have been equipped with special uniforms to help them carry out their duties."

have gladly permitted young men in the employ of the company of which I am president to go to the R. O. T. C. camps without counting it against their vacation. In every instance these young men come back apparently better able to fulfill their duties as citizens, and do their work more conscientiously and with greater enthusiasm. As I see it, the curse of many of the young people of this country is that there is no one to tell them to mind or make them mind." There you have it—Hep! Hep! Double time! Hep! Hep! It is dangerous to attribute motives for men's conduct, but it is just possible some men get satisfaction out of knowing that, at least for a while, these young men must do *what* they are told, *when* they are told, *as* they are told!

Pagan High Priests

We might make out a splendid case showing how the leaders of "big business" and of "big armies" are back of this diabolic scheme for perpetuating their control through bribing and conscripting youth, but such an interpretation of the situation seems to the present writer to be too simple, too logical, too calculating. Some "pacifists" also wax eloquent on the necessity for beheading or impaling or dethroning these seducers of men, "these makers of wars"—laying all the blame on the big fellows at the top. It is far more accurate to look upon the whole system and its supporters as

non-deliberate, irrational, highly sentimental—as an archaic religion, long past its period of usefulness, rather than as a clever political and industrial system. Calling our militarists the high priests of a pagan cult is both more accurate and fairer than calling them cold-blooded schemers. They are victims, too!

British Labor has spoken in no uncertain terms their opinion of the whole war system. And the whole world is profiting thereby. This makes all the more tragic a recent report from Washington that Mr. William Green is chairman of a committee that is passing the hat for "incidental expenses" for the summer Citizens' Military Training Camps. Does he realize that these funds are to be expended in putting the trimmings and frills on this summer ritual to Mars? Does he not realize that when the next war comes laboring boys who have "enjoyed" these "free vacations" will be sent one gigantic bill to pay? This subservience on the part of American Labor leaders to the old Gods of reaction and militarism may be one explanation of why American labor must beg favors of our political representatives while British Labor controls theirs. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald sits in Downing Street while our labor leaders are forced to seek comfort in the smiles of open-shop employers who want to teach laboring boys respect for authority—whose authority? The authority of slavery to insane traditions!

A Cenotaph for the Unknown Worker

Suggesting A Shrine In His Honor

By HELEN SAHLER

HE who conceived the idea of publicly honoring the Unknown Soldier did a significant thing. It was an original idea to raise a stone to an unknown man; it brings to mind the altar once erected in Athens to the Unknown God. Such monuments imply a measure of humility in the erectors: they seem to acknowledge a falling short, to confess a failure of understanding.

The public giving of tribute to men unrecognized and gone to oblivion marks a peg ahead in evolution, for man is prone to glorify the conspicuous. It means the developing of a juster and more humane valuation. This honoring of the Unknown Soldier, this gathering about a tomb with flags furled and drums stilled, is a ferment for peace, for humility and pity do not engender jingoism.

But, as this homage is new, let some of us make the rendering of it entirely new and give it to one of a newly acclaimed calling, instead of to the age-long lauded warrior caste. Let us give it to the man behind the hoe and the machine instead of to the man behind the gun. Let not the Unknown Soldier alone be deemed worthy of such tribute and the Unknown Worker remain unhonored. Shall the long, grinding hardship of a life of harrowing insecurity be forgotten and only the pangs of a sudden death remembered? Shall not the hands that wrought as well as the hands that fought be held up?

Why not on May Day take a leaf from the book of the inaugurators of the Armistice day celebration and initiate a three minute silence in honor of the Unknown Worker? Instead of standing about a cenotaph, at one agreed time, in America, in Europe, and on to the frontiers of the labor movement, in every workshop, field and factory, let men stand in silent commemoration. Also at all the mass meetings at that hour let the hush fall. Silence such as this will echo and re-echo around the world.

Such a demonstration will be potent as well as impressive. It will be potent for unity, for all factions and wings can unite in such an observance. Luckily, as silence is the form of commemoration, there will be no opening for discussion. Customs and traditions weld organizations, by them strong institutions are riveted together. Rites are as binding as the paying of annual dues and the passing of resolutions, and by more of such bonds, which stir the imagination, warm the heart and brace the will, the labor movement would be strengthened. And what a rich reservoir of associations and memories there is to draw upon, as yet barely tapped! So let us inaugurate this May Day pause, and by honoring the departed heroes and martyrs, the living unknown worker will be fortified and inspired.

If an actual cenotaph could be erected so much the

better. But in what city of the United States would land be granted for such a purpose? Such is the irony of it, that he who dug the foundations, dredged the harbors, descended into caissons, laid the sewers, paved the streets, raised the skyscrapers, may be denied the plot for such a grave in the city his hands built.

Some will quote William James in his Talks to Teachers and say that the reason monuments are raised to soldiers instead of to subway workers is because they follow an ideal. But William James wrote before we had conscription and before the great development of the labor movement. There is a twofold sentiment that draws the crowd around the grave of the Unknown Soldier. The crowd knows that many of those who fought did so because they would be shot as deserters if they did not or put into prison if they refused to serve, but it gathers about the Grave as that of a representative of the highest type who fought for an ideal. It also gathers in sympathy for the sufferings and sacrifices, voluntary and involuntary, incurred by all taking part. So with the Grave of the Unknown Worker. It will stand as representative of the highest type of toiler, of the one broadly and deeply conscious of the significance of labor. It will also stand as a symbol of recognition for the sufferings and sacrifices, voluntary and involuntary, incurred by the mass of workers.

This cenotaph will be a shrine for those who have been dumb for centuries, dumb not only in death but inarticulate in life. Here will be an abiding place for the Egyptian slave, condemned to make bricks without straw; for the peasant vainly rebelling against his miseries in the days of Luther; for the moujik shot down on Red Sunday. A shrine for him whose bones lay buried, marked only by the drifting sands of the desert, by the black loam of northern fields, by the snows of the steppes.

Here poetic justice can be rendered, the only kind, alas, that can be offered to the great host represented. Sadly inadequate, merely a gesture. What can ever atone for the injustice, the extortion, the ignominy endured? A happier future won for others, the attaining of it accelerated by the lesson of their experience? That is not amends. But such as it is, let the tribute be given. So let us stand with bowed heads in those minutes of remembrance, gazing far down the dusty trial of years at the column of marchers, of the strong and the weak, of the young and the old, pressing forward, stumbling, falling, rising again, driven by the whip of want, wielded by the hand of oppressors, until the long line fades in the midst of the past.

Before such a spectacle, speech is hollow, words are silence, a quiet august as death—this shall be the medium for our homage.

A. F. OF L.'S ISOLATION POLICY

IN the course of his last annual report, Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, which is trying to bring about higher standards of working conditions throughout the world, summarized American labor's role in the promotion of this protective legislation. He pointed out the A. F. of L.'s well known opposition towards governmental legislation and declared that "its persistence in a policy of isolation is a considerable difficulty for international labor legislation and the promotion of peace. This isolation is all the more serious in that the Federation endeavors, through the medium of the Pan American Federation of Labor to extend its influence over the whole American continent."

Hardly had these words reached the United States when they were greeted by an avalanche of touchy protests on the part of Messrs. Green, Frey and the ubiquitous Matthew Woll. Suddenly professing that "they have done everything in their power to establish the strongest bonds of friendship with European trade unionists," they shed tears over M. Thomas' ill manners in "berating and belittling the American Federation of Labor."

That M. Thomas has given a correct statement of the facts, the A. F. of L. officialdom does not question. In his reply to M. Thomas President Wm. Green reiterates that the A. F. of L. is opposed to fixing working conditions by law or to the establishment of any length of work-day by law. That as a result of this "wisdom," the 8 hour day is enjoyed by a smaller percentage of wage earners in the United States than in any industrial country in Europe is ignored by President Green.

As the head of the International Labor Office M. Thomas is confronted with an insurmountable obstacle in the attitude of the official American labor movement which refuses to have anything to do with governmental legislation. Every time a proposed labor treaty is presented to a less industrially developed nation it justly claims that since the United States, where per capita production has reached the highest development, refuses to adopt such a standard, it is unfair to expect them to introduce it and hope to compete with the United States.

American labor's refusal to cooperate in seeking an elevation of working standards throughout the world has become the greatest handicap which international labor legislation has to face. Higher international standards of working conditions are pure fantasy so long as the head of the labor movement of the leading industrial nation proclaims with reference to the eight-hour day draft convention that "we would not ask our government to ratify that convention, even if our government could do so."

Not one of the A. F. of L. spokesmen going into battle with M. Thomas charges him with misstating the A. F. of L. position. Director Thomas's explanation to the world of their position must have touched a sensitive chord. Apparently they realize the ludicrousness of their attitude when it is displayed

across the ocean. And so Messrs. Green, Frey and Woll in turn attack M. Thomas not because he misstated facts, but because he "couched his utterances in language that will not serve to warm the relations between Geneva and Washington." Our labor statesmen may cringe and crawl in front of American industrialists but they are brave enough to resent "criticism" from a "furriner." In answer to Chester Wright's leading question whether American labor will vote again to join the International Labor Office, which Gompers helped to establish President Green unhesitatingly answered: "I do not think so."

But, of course, it remained for the inimitable Matthew Woll to spill the means. Brother Woll knew that M. Thomas's utterances had to be made a bit more "pointy" for home consumption. So the latter's harshest expression "more serious" becomes in Mr. Woll's version "narrow" and "menace." Brother Woll is convinced that American labor resents such slurring comments as those made by M. Thomas."

But, does Mr. Woll challenge M. Thomas's statements? No. On the contrary, he goes on to prove them. Says Mr. Woll: "We must go our own way and that we shall, of course, do, regardless of what others may have to say about our wisdom. If we make mistakes as we shall, we have the right to do that and we cherish that right as much as we cherish any other right. If we are as narrow as M. Thomas thinks we are, that is our affair." (Long live the right to be stupid!)

What Brother Woll has just said is exactly what M. Thomas said the A. F. of L. leadership stands for. That such an attitude does not help the improvement of working conditions throughout the world is obvious. In view of these statements, the repeated meaningless mouthings of the A. F. of L. officialdom that "we wish European labor well, and intend to continue to extend a helping hand" are but brazen hypocrisy. American labor can either help by cooperation or stand in the way. It is no surprise to find Brother Woll who dreams of dominating the American hemisphere, resenting bitterly Geneva's "butting in." M. Thomas, Brother Woll jealously charges, wants to be a "world boss and high priest of labor. He is a political office holder and nothing more." (A rank at least 10 degrees below an insurance office holder). And continues, Matthew: "Since he has spoken so frankly (if he had only not said what he meant) there is much doubt as to the value of his office holding."

Finally Brother Woll reveals to us the A. F. of L.'s real distrust of Geneva. Says he, "Geneva's respect for the American trade union movement is in some measure shown by the fact that, whereas Geneva has chosen two representatives in succession to be its agents in the United States, in both cases Geneva has gone outside the American trade union movement to fill the position."

There, the cat is let out of the bag. In addition to the 50 odd jobs Mr. Woll now holds, Geneva should have also crowned him its representative. Thus, his ambitions would have attained world hegemony!

Militant Marion

Strikes for Ten Hour Day!

By JOHN HERLING

A YEAR or so ago Paul Blanshard addressed a Baltimore audience on southern mill conditions. His remarks were directed specifically against the feudalistic conditions of the typical mill village, and the misery and poverty that prevailed among 200,000 mill workers of North and South Carolina.

Up rose from the audience, a short, fat, plaintive little man, Rignal W. Baldwin by name; he announced that he was president of a southern mill village; and said he, such conditions as the speaker described were not true of his mill village. He challenged Mr. Blanshard to come south and repeat his remarks before his happy people. That challenge Paul Blanshard accepted, then and later. Mr. Baldwin never replied.

But on July 11, 650 men and women of the Marion Manufacturing Company struck. They won Blanshard's argument for him and proved that the harmony in Marion, N. C., reigned only in Mr. Baldwin's befuddled mind.

What were the demands that the Marion Manufacturing Company refused? The supposedly contented village folk made these modest demands:

1. Men and women now work 12 hours and 12 minutes a day, 11 hours and 20 minutes at night. The grievance committee asked Mr. Baldwin for reduction to ten hours, both day and night shifts, with no reduction in pay.

2. Twenty-two men and women were fired for joining the union. These men were to be reinstated.

Three times did the committee of employees make their requests and when the third refusal came, Lawrence Hogan, Roy Price, and Dan Elliott, local leaders of the union, came to Alfred Hoffman, who had been their organizer for the past two months.

"Mr. Hoffman, we are going to strike."

"There isn't a cent of money for relief, fellows," said Alfred. "You can't strike now."

"Hell," said the committee, "we've done struck."

And they had. Within fifteen minutes after word

of refusal by the boss became known, loom-fixers, weavers, spinners, sweepers, came streaming out of the mill. Three hundred of the night shift awakened by the report were already on the outside of the mill waiting for them, and in half an hour the most inspiring mass meeting I ever attended was called to order.

Within a day the organization of the strike was planned. A committee of mill workers was sent out into

ASSERT RIGHTS



Tom Tippet and Dan Elliott in tilt with sheriff.

the country side to enlist the farmers. Twenty-five women compose the "biscuit" committee. They regulate the menu of the community. It consists of flour, meat, lard, coffee, and corn meal. Strike headquarters were established; a speaker's stand was built on a lot by three mill carpenters who came out on strike with the men; an eight piece string band was recruited from the strikers consisting of violins, guitars, banjos; and overnight East Marion has become a singing community.

Everybody sings. I've heard women hum "Solidarity" as they worked round their kitchens; men whistle it as they came on and off picket duty, and a crowd of 2,000 roar "The Union makes us strong."

It took but little effort on the part of the leaders to bring out the drama of the strike. The strikers feel the class struggle because they are living it; and they would

laugh at those who say that in America you have no class strife but merely friendly differences.

Alfred Hoffman is doing a great work here and the good job he has done can best be appreciated by those who have been to other strike areas in the south. He is running the strike on a militant, intelligent basis. There are no if's and but's in the speeches he makes. People here see life simply. It would be hard for them to understand men who view reality through a maze of qualifications and footnotes. Hoffman understands them and they know he does. Here as at Elizabethton they would go the limit for him.

An instance of the imagination he uses in the strike is his organization of over 25 of the strikers' children into an auxiliary body. The kids make themselves use-

WHERE WORKERS TOIL AND LIVE



The cotton mill and a mill worker's home at Marion, N. C.

ful in running errands, leading parades, helping in the singing, making lemonade. They won't go to bed until you threaten them with dire punishment if they don't. This "sling-shot gang" in its light moods sings the following song:

"Old man Baldwin is mighty fine,
Old man Baldwin is mighty fine,
Old man Baldwin is mighty fine,
Makes yellow dogs dig his sewer line,
O! Mr. Yellow Dog, take him away,
take him away." (Far away).

It goes to the tune of "Hand Me Down My Walking Cane."

But Hoffman has not been alone in the work. Tom Tippet speaks every night. The cry for him is irresistible and Tom speaks. Jess Slaughter leads the singing. Bill Ross of Baltimore Labor College was here for four days, and the little lectures he delivered were listened to eagerly. They want him to come back.

One night, prayer-meeting night, we found that the majority of the people came down to the picket line instead of to church. The time was therefore auspicious for a sermon. Brother Tippet arose and delivered himself of a splendid talk on what Christianity is made of, and who the true Christians were. "The Pie in the Sky" theory of salvation was absolutely refuted. And many said it was "better preachin' than in church."

Eager for Knowledge

These men and women of Marion want education; they are eager to apply their political power and the eager self-sacrifice with which they picket and work indicate that to them a union is no business proposition. They are working to perfect a lever to freedom.

To them the position that the field of organized labor be separated from the political would seem queer. When the threats of the sheriff and of the courts come to them, they say, "Wait until next election." I've talked to many strikers and without en-

couragement from me they have said, "We'll have our own party and then we'll show them." At Elizabethton the same opinions were expressed. They would consider it false and unreal to divide their newly found power in organization, not to throw that strength into a political party of their own making.

But in the meantime there is the strike. Other mills are aroused. Clinchfield men are champing impatiently at the bit. Their conditions are just as rotten as at East Marion.

Here, in East Marion, Mr. Baldwin's ideal village is being made Exhibit A in the attempt of militant Southern workers to build from the start a real labor movement. But in this splendid effort two thousand people are dependent on relief from those who can give. With another strike imminent, they are living on the simplest rations, simpler than before the strike.

"That's all right, buddy," said one of the men as he leaned against the mill fence, "we'll eat salt-pork till we sweat lard."

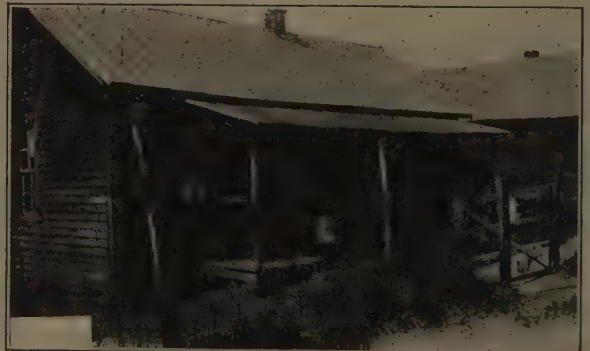
P. S. Since I have mailed the above two injunctions have been issued. The latest was answered with a monster parade of strikers and sympathizers which swept out of the mill village and through the town yelling defiance at the injunction.

The parade passed the courthouse where Sheriff Adkins and his police stood helpless. Four weeks ago the town refused the strikers permission to parade through the streets. This time the strikers did not ask permission.

A mass meeting was held in the open following the parade. The strikers cheered Alfred Hoffman, A. J. Muste and Tom Tippet to the echo as they urged the strikers to stick fast.

Totally ignoring the injunction, strikers formed on the picket line and raised their voices in lusty singing of "Solidarity Forever."

A CLOSE UP



And here we see one of the workers' "homes."

Frame-Up—Southern Style

Textile Worker's Own Story

By MACK ELLIOTT

The writer of this story, a mechanical genius, was a foreman at the Bemberg-Glanzstoff mills, Elizabethton, Tenn. This article sent to the Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief is presented in Mack Elliott's quaint style with but few editorial changes.

ON one beautiful May morning I was awakened by the sudden jingle of the alarm clock which told me it was time for me to commence getting my aching limbs moving once more for another twelve hour shift to provide means for my family to have food and shelter. Never could I have bucked the hardships that were dealt out to me if it were not for their sake and the pleasure of having a home. Even the birds and wild beasts have homes. Now to have this home I worked twelve hours a day, seven days a week, at wages I am ashamed to tell, in caustic soda so strong one single drop meant blindness the rest of your life. Sulphuric acid to eat my hands until they were very sore. Gas, chlorine, carbon monoxide and large signs reading "High explosives, gas, no matches, no smoking or fire of any kind, lest you lose your life." These were part of the conditions out of which I tried to rend a living in Happy Valley — until a zephyr came from those great mountains and whispered to us, "You are white slaves working for nothing, working to make the rich richer and the poor poorer." We whispered in turn to each other as though we were burglars, "What shall we do—we can't be treated this way!" And we struck for our rights.

We knew nothing of organized labor, not one thing. We went to fight our own battle not knowing we could get a helping hand. Then, came a man, a big fat man, Hoffman was his name. I shook his hand. He was an organizer and had come to help us.

Then came another good angel, Mr. McGrady, and my, how he cured those good friends of ours. These business friends of ours were not used to being corrected and said they would not stand for such "Negro loving, home breaking Catholics" to mess in their affairs and gave their orders to get going quick, but we asked them not to depart from us and they said they would not and did not. Now our good Christians which had laid the stepping stones for our future happiness and a home in heaven, kidnapped our union leaders and gave them words and treatment that tongue or pen could not tell. But like the cat they both came back and what a time we had on their return!

Things were getting to a feverish heat. Then, an awful plague broke out—the yellow dog leprosy, and at this critical moment came Dr. William F. Kelly, a specialist in this yellow dog fever, which will develop into a scab if not properly treated at once. Now I liked Dr. Kelly very much and my friends gave me orders to cast him aside, but I hung on to the "Scum

of Moscow" and the "Hatred of Hell," for he spoke the truth and I knew it.

Came the troops sent to protect us and our property. Those troops were secured for us by our good Christian friends and best business men of the city. Thinking all was well I went to attend the parade on the streets and a night meeting afterwards, and as all seemed to be going well *there was a great explosion and in a few minutes I received the news my home was blown to pieces. I rushed to where the home had once been. No home, no money, no friends to pray for me.*

Accused of Destroying Home

All we saved was our lives and I am thankful, indeed, for that. I was nearly naked. One shirt and a pair of overalls, shoes and cap was my complete wardrobe. No one that had been my good friends offered me shelter. None of my advisers gave me a helping hand, and the following morning I learned I was accused of blowing my own home to pieces for a thrill and to cause sympathy for the union. My, how suddenly friends can change!

Now came the wise man from the East, George S. Barger, State Fire Marshal to investigate and punish the one which did me such awful injustice.

For six weeks he prowled about to throw light on the mystery, and I assisted him all I could. Now came a call from Barger to come to the hotel at once. I hastened over hoping to get some good news, and good news it was. To my great joy the mighty man had at last spied the guilty one and best of all had him in captivity. I gave him my best regards and assured him I could never thank him enough for his skillful work.

Court came and I wait to see the angel from hell appear on the stage. Next came a conference with the sheriff and fire marshal.

"Good morning, Mack."

"Very well, thank you."

"Sit down. Mack, do you know I have a warrant for you."

"No, I do not, what for?"

"For allowing and getting Jim Brice to do the job for you. Now you know Bill Kelly has promised to pay you for your home if you would let him blow up your house and you know Paul Porter brought the explosives to do the job with, don't you?"

"No, I don't know no such damn thing, neither do you."

"Now look here, Mack, I have a confession from this man sworn to and I have three witnesses to prove your guilt and you will go to the pen if you don't come clean. Now I will give you \$500 if you will come clean and tell the truth. I know you are under a little oath to the union, but better to break that and have money and friends than to go to the pen and get nothing.

UNION ENEMIES' CONTEMPTIBLE ACT



Mack E. Elliott (at left), his son Robert with broken fiddle (what a tragedy for a boy!), Mrs. Elliott, father-in-law and brother-in-law, sadly review remains of household goods left after Elliott home has been blown up by nitro-glycerine in bottles. Union leaders had been in the habit of meeting in Elliott's bungalow out in the country because no rooms would be rented in Elizabethton.

I know that damn Kelly is the fellow who did the dirt to you, come on now."

"Mr. Barger, I am a human, have a soul and a principle, trying to raise a family, and I could sell my soul for no price although I am in desperate need. I cannot possibly do that."

"Alright, you can go to jail."

I assured him I would rather take the jail, and he said, "Now if you tell this I will tell you are a damn liar and it will go to make it harder for you in your case."

All my hopes were shattered like glass. I saw his frame-up clear to the bottom.

Next morning the case was called. Mr. Bice was brought forward and a confession of the "crime" read to the jury stating that he was detailed from union headquarters to do the job, that Paul Porter placed the explosives in my home and he pulled the battery.

Next came a surprise witness—a young lady in the bloom of life swore she saw me give the said Jim Bice \$25 the morning after the explosion and told him he done a good job and I would pay him some more soon. Two more ladies were held in reserve for me, to finish

proving my guilt. The state rests.

Mr. Bice was placed on the stand. A man who could not sign his name or count his children or tell the time of the day but he knew he never made a confession of any kind and stuck to it. I placed witnesses on the stand to prove this man was in the union hall when the explosion occurred and as to the lady witness who testified that I gave Mr. Bice \$25 she meant no harm to me, she just merely made a mistake. She meant to say Mr. Barger gave me \$25, as Bice and Barger sound alike. I excused the lady for her mistake and the case was thrown out of court.

Now you clearly see just what the conditions were. I am a Tennessean by birth and was reared in beautiful Happy Valley and I pledge you my honor that every working man and woman in this great struggle we have had to free ourselves from industrial slavery has a friendship branded on his or her heart that can never be removed. We appreciate your loyal support and if it had not been for the relief we never could have won the battle. Now the war cry is, "all together, let's go, help one another"—that we might lie down in green pastures by the side of still waters.

Industry's Gigantic Mergers

Organized Labor's Obsolete Forms

By JUSTUS EBERT

WE gather from a reading of the financial pages of THE NEW YORK TIMES that the merging of corporations goes on at a rapid pace, unhampered by either anti-trust laws or antiquated traditions of individualism. We read, for instance, "The merger movement has eliminated dozens of industrial enterprises and has created new units which, in point of size surpasses anything ever known before. Vast financial resources have been concentrated in a smaller number of institutions through gigantic banking consolidations. Industries which for years have sought under great difficulties, to hold their own in foreign markets have combined their activities through export agencies and are showing results that exceed the most sanguine expectations."

As we ponder on the extent of this merger movement, LABOR'S NEWS comes to hand. Therein Leland Olds, Federated Press economist, touches on the same subject. Says he, "The swift current of economic change continues to show itself in the ever increasing number of significant items in the daily newspapers. Finance, business, industry have become news that reveal a new social order coming into being. Even the casual reader begins to realize that the old private capitalism is passing away while the old political order grows more and more out of date."

"Utility mergers, bank mergers, food mergers, growing power of American banks, all these demand columns of news. They are evidence of the rapid centralization of economic power in the hands of a ruling class exercising a new kind of political authority. Collectivism is taking the place of individualism under a tremendously powerful oligarchy."

These facts and conclusions must be apparent to all who read and reflect. There is a merger movement going on that eliminates dozens of obsolete industrial enterprises in favor of smaller new units. There is a "swift current of economic change," inherently revolutionary, that is creating new kinds of political authority and displacing individualism by oligarchy. In this connection some questions arise, viz., *Is the American Labor movement a part of this merger movement? Is it also eliminating obsolete forms of organization in favor of fewer units? Is it endeavoring to so realign its economic forces as to become an integral part of this new political authority? Is it in any way revising its philosophy or its practice in a way that will put it in accord with the new consolidating phenomenon of the day?*

We regret to say that, in the vernacular of the street, the answer is, "not so that you'd notice it." The labor movement of this country is supposedly the vanguard representing counter-progress to the progress of private capitalism in this country. But even Matthew Woll confesses, "Labor's great trouble is not to keep from

getting ahead of the times, but in keeping up with the times." The fact is here acknowledged that the American labor movement is behind the times. It prefers to give up its progressive character and to hark back to its past, refusing to face either the present or the future, as modern economic conditions demand.

For the American labor movement, apparently, there is no merging going on. There is no swift economic change taking place, embodying transference of power or new forms of supremacy. The American labor movement says in substance, "All's well in this best of capitalist worlds, without evolution, revolution or end. We stand pat. No outside dictation. No tolerance of attempts to remake us." An astounding position! As though the American labor movement alone is outside of the mighty onward sweep of American economic development—the most thorough, high-powered and far-reaching in the world; that submerges everything antiquated before it and that emerges essentially more socialist than any other economic development the world over. We might say, in passing, that the Wolls, Wrights, etc., in ridiculing the Socialists fail to realize that the ridicule is on them; as it is not only socialists but socialism in its incipience that the capitalism of this country is compelling them to reckon with! And with what puerility are the poor chaps doing the reckoning?

The foregoing, we believe, will be considered unsympathetic language. But where are the facts that will compel its modification or demonstrate its falsity?

Backward Tendencies

We know we will be told about regional councils, building trades alliances, departmental organization, Southern unionization drives, convention declarations in favor of industrial unionism, as illustrating the tendency to greater unity in the American labor movement. But these institutions are essentially loose combinations, seeking primarily craft perpetuation and domination and in no wise paralleling the merging movement of capitalism. In fact, there is in the modern labor movement a tendency to attempt to reverse the trend towards concentration. Witness the anti-trust attitude of the bakers' union; and the anti-chain stores attitude of other unions, depending on locality. Here we see a lining up with small capital; a policy that the cigarmakers' union has followed unsuccessfully until now it seems to have awakened to a realization of the necessity of organizing the workers of the big cigar companies, rather than boycotting the latter in the interest of cockroach bosses, whose employees are not numerous enough, in comparison, to make unionism either worth while or powerful enough.

Witness also the bad returns to old practices in the American labor movement; practices that appear well-

THE POWER GIANT



N. Y. Eve. World
Mergers in electricity have made General Electric, Insull, Byllesby and Mellon, anti-union employers, powerful and dictatorial. Organized labor has every reason to urge public ownership—lower rates, and full union wages and union conditions.

nigh incredible in this age of increasing centralization and coordination.

Clinton Golden has told us in a recent issue of this magazine of the failure in Chicago to organize industrially an important unit of the radio industry. This industry is practically unorganized and consequently offers a good field for industrial unionism. But the same old craft lines and philosophy prevailed, to the abandonment of the organization necessary at the time. Craft unionism, in this case, proved inflexible and unadaptable to modern requirements.

The same thing is going on in the aviation industry. Here's another practically unorganized industry affording ample opportunities for the launching of experiments in new, integrated forms of unionism. But, as in the radio industry, craft principles and practices prevail. Some skilled workers are organized and even these are split into separate machinists' locals. This primarily in the New York district, too; where less metal and machine workers are now organized than 30 years ago, thanks to a rigid orthodoxy that is so straight and narrow as to be suicidal.

Let us here insert an illuminating letter received from a member of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action in a position to know what he is writing about:

"On the matter of organization in the metal and machinery industry in general there is a great deal to be said, but I will confine myself to the rise and decline of the International Association of Machinists and its influence. In 1911, Johnston was elected International President on a platform calling for an industrial union in the metal industry and pledging the or-

ganization to work for the amalgamation of all metal trades crafts into one union and to organize all machine shop workers regardless of their degree of skill into the I. A. of M. From 1915 to 1920 the organization increased its membership from 60,000 to 320,000 organizing on this principle. In some instances where there was no organization whatever in a plant we took in everyone employed there regardless of craft, trade or calling. The Crompton & Knowles Loom Works in Worcester, Mass. is a case in point. We organized polishers, blacksmiths, molders, painters and other workers in that plant effecting a complete shop organization under the I. A. of M. and we refused to surrender jurisdiction over any of these workers. In the Squantum and Fore River plants of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corp. we had engravers, polishers, etchers and riggers enrolled in the I. A. of M. and secured rates and conditions for them. Under this policy we developed a militant spirit in our membership and a real enthusiasm for unionism. The International Association of Machinists developed power and prestige in the industry and there was no question of recognition of the organization.

Oppose Semi-Skilled

"In 1920 there came a slump in the industry due to the completion of war contracts and the readjustment to a peace time basis of production. Many of the workers were thrown out of the industry and went back to their old occupations or secured work in other lines, that is the semi-skilled workers. There was a decrease in membership and the control of the organization passed from the so-called contract shop workers to the hands of the railroad, navy yard and arsenal machinists whose organization had not been effected to such a great extent in the readjustment. In these industries the craft system prevails with its apprenticeship regulations and all the other trimmings. These workers do not look with favor on the organization of the semi-skilled and prefer to confine the activities of the union to the organization of the skilled mechanic and to negotiations for agreements and recognition by the boss. Wharton, the present International President, reflects this state of mind and the I. A. of M. therefore is not giving much attention to the contract or manufacturing plants except to try to organize and gain recognition for the skilled machinists, tool and die makers. The average skilled man in the union today has no desire to take in the specialist and it is a hard matter to make him see that this specialist is the key man in the shop today and a menace to the interests of the skilled man in the event of a fight for conditions. All talk of strike is taboo in the effort to sell the idea of craft organization to the skilled worker and to the boss.

"The International Association of Machinists has become a pure and simple craft union, a good member of the American Federation of Labor and, at the last convention in Atlanta, the law forbidding our delegates to the A. F. of L. to vote for anyone for office in the A. F. of L. who holds membership in the National Civic Federation was repealed and carried by referendum. The membership in 1928 was about 65,000, mostly all-around machinists, tool and die makers.

There is practically no opposition to the present administration and its policies and those who do oppose are branded as Communists. The present membership is held together largely through constitutional death benefits. The organization has no prestige outside of the railroads and government shops. We have become a commercial institution instead of a militant union."

A Look at Germany

By way of contrast and constructive suggestion let us look abroad. Take Germany, whose inhabitants are now called "The Yankees of Europe," so eagerly are they adapting American industrial technique and corporate forms, while, at the same time, absorbing American investments. In Germany 20 years ago there were 63 unions representing 1.9 millions of workers. In 1928, 35 unions representing 4.6 millions of workers were in existence. That is, there were almost one-half less unions with more than double the membership. This was due to a steady concentration of unions, in which craft unions were absorbed into industrial unions. These unions, notably the union of metal workers, made provisions to organize the unskilled and semi-skilled all along the line. "This kind of organization," says a report, "has not brought about a levelling of wages; the skilled workers usually receive wage rates agreed upon by the employers and employees which are higher than those of unskilled and semi-skilled workers organized in the same union. But working conditions, hours of work, vacation, and similar items provided for in the agreement are usually the same for both groups of workers."

There are many other details, such as prevention of the indiscriminate mingling of unions; the organization of local craft groups, with press and special statutes of their own; the concentrated administration of finances, together with benefits regulated differently for different crafts; with the preservation and fostering of certain craft characteristics within the organization for all the crafts in the industry.

As a result of union concentration, the labor organizations of Germany in 1928 were powerful enough to discuss the question of the joint control of industry by workers and management; together with the realization of industrial democracy by these and other means.

A resolution adopted by the Hamburg Congress of the German Labor Federation reads in part:

"The democratization of industry means the gradual elimination of the control based upon the ownership of private capital and the transformation of influential bodies activated by capitalist interests into bodies acting for the common welfare. The democratization of industry is proceeding gradually as the structure of capitalism changes more and more appreciably. The development has been from the independent individual capitalist shop to organized monopolistic capitalism. In this process the opposition of organized labor and organized political democratic parties were formed. The counter attack against the economic autocracy of the employers has not remained without results. Already at the present time branches of important industries have been, in an increasing measure, taken out of the hands of private interests and transferred to public

THE MERGER PROCESSION



New York World

Trustification goes on apace, while organized labor clings to outworn policies. It fails to keep up with the times, as even Matthew Woll admits. Is it not time to call in experts, as Brother Ebert suggests, to plan a reorganization? Revolutionary? Better that than disintegration.

control. Conditions of work do no longer depend upon the free competition in the market, a freedom which spelled the utmost slavery to the worker. In determination of these conditions the unions play a great part and so do the laws which the state has to pass against free and unlimited exploitation of the wage-earner. At the same time, the beginnings of changes in the rights based upon ownership are noticeable.

"These beginnings of a new order make it easier for the working class to further at a more rapid pace the democratization of industry. The power of the unions has to be used in two ways in connection with this problem. On the one side, they make demands as to legislation and public administration. These demands will be effective in as far as the unions and the political organizations of the workers will be influential. On the other side, new democratic forms of industrial enterprise are to be created by the workers themselves and without the state as intermediary."

Will the American labor movement ever acquire a similar power and attitude? Or will it disintegrate because of its own inherent ineptitude? The future alone will tell.

In the meanwhile, why not take a cue from the men directing the merger movement. They call in the economist, financier, technician, engineer and manager to discuss its feasibility and to plan its success. Why should not the American labor movement call in experts of a similar character to plan its reorganization ere it perhaps, "kicks the bucket," and it is too late?

The Scattered Progressives

Hopeful and Eager for Action

By CLINTON S. GOLDEN

This concludes a series of articles which began in the May issue, based upon Brother Golden's observations of the labor movement during a two months' tour for Brookwood beginning last February. He visited many states, traveling as far west as the Pacific coast.

AFTER leaving Tacoma, Wash., my next stop was Portland, Ore. Here under the stimulus of progressives of nearly ten years ago, was organized the Portland Labor College, one of the earliest of the non-resident labor colleges in the country. At that time the movement in Portland and the state of Oregon could have been truthfully called "progressive." One of the finest Labor Temples in the country was built in Portland and here were the headquarters of the Labor College in quarters made available by the Local trade union movement.



CLINTON S. GOLDEN

In 1925 I had visited the city, sat in with trade union members going to Labor College classes, attended the presentation of splendidly done plays under the direction of the Labor College's dramatics teacher and had seen men and women, some near middle age, employed by day as street car conductors and motor-men, carpenters and the like, doing more than creditable work in dramatics. The "little theatre" where the plays were presented was in the Labor Temple itself and the work of this group nearly always attracted full houses.

Perhaps to E. E. Schwartztrauber, principal of one of the city high schools and a vice president of the American Federation of Teachers, more than to anyone else, is due the credit for organizing what then looked to be one of the most promising Labor Colleges in the country.

Declared "Dead"

Schwartztrauber and I were a trifle late in getting to the meeting of the Labor College Board of Directors one evening the latter part of last March, and as we walked in we heard the chairman repeating a motion that had been offered to the effect that "we declare the Portland Labor College dead." Surely an astounding introduction to the meeting! And the story of its disintegration sounded strangely similar to that heard in more than one other previously promising locality.

Schwartztrauber's singular devotion had made the

College a real factor in the movement. It had prestige throughout the state and even in other northwestern states. Then came a time when it was thought a full time educational and executive director should be employed. A college man, thoroughly in sympathy with the movement was secured. He was a man of ideas and ability. But—well, first of all he did not get on with some of the leaders. Lame duck labor politicians wanted the job. Dissension crept in. Some officials of the movement wanted to connect the labor college and workers education movement in the state with the state university. Others opposed it. The director left and was followed by another college man. He, too, ran into the same sort of difficulties and dissensions. In the meantime industrial conditions were not improving. Unions were having difficulties maintaining their positions. Fewer new young members were coming into the movement. Then came the Brookwood-A. F. of L. controversy. The Labor College Board and active people were largely in sympathy with Brookwood. This did not set well with the older officials. Support for the College was withdrawn under some sort of pressure. Active people who had looked to and received the Labor College inspiration and help, became discouraged.

And so the motion to declare it dead was amended to read "suspend operations for the present" and carried in that form.

San Francisco's Setback

It is a good long journey from Portland down to San Francisco, and as the S. P. train rolls along one has plenty of time to meditate. After the depressing experiences of Portland what would we find in sunny California where trade union folks used to be militants?

A few days spent in talking with trade union members, former and present day radicals, and others who had at one time or another been active in the movement indicated that the Frisco movement had not by any means escaped the paralyzing forces that have been sweeping over the entire country in the post war period.

Twenty years ago, union members in Frisco voluntarily taxed themselves hundreds of thousands of dollars to help unionize its younger city of Los Angeles, where old General Harrison Grey Otis and his LOS ANGELES TIMES were the spokesmen of a tightly organized gang of open shoppers of the most detestable type. But today under the direction of a militant manufacturers' association with headquarters in the same city of Los Angeles, sections of the labor movement in San Francisco have been all but exterminated.

Interest in the fate of Mooney and Billings who

have languished some thirteen years behind the bars in California has waned, and were it not for the persistent efforts of such fine types of humanitarians as Fremont Older and others it would seem that these martyrs to the cause of labor would be nearly forgotten. But thanks to a comparatively small number of loyal workers and friends, there appears to be some justification for the belief that Mooney at least may be pardoned before the end of the year.

Passing on 500 miles farther south to Los Angeles I again found similar conditions. Some unions were holding their own, a few were growing, but on the whole the situation was not unlike that in several other localities visited. A few years ago one got the feeling that Los Angeles was a sort of a "resort city" where fortunes were made somewhat easily by speculating in real estate. This does not appear to be the case now. The "City of Angels" has become the second largest rubber tire manufacturing center, the production of airplanes is increasing rapidly, some huge assembly plants of eastern automobile manufacturers have been established there. The garment manufacturing industry is growing and it is perhaps in the men's clothing industry, where the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have succeeded in organizing fully 80 per cent of the workers in the past year or so, that the most notable gains in labor organization have been made.

I found a healthy and growing socialist movement directed by young people in marked contrast to that found in Milwaukee and several other eastern points. Its vitality is shown by the large vote cast in a recent school election in Los Angeles. That the city is still dominated by the open shoppers there is no doubt. Yet they are handling their power with perhaps more sagacity than in the day of old General Otis and the Los Angeles Times-McNamara affair. The movement is much less militant and much more "respectable." Some labor leaders told me of the advantages, psychologically at least, of occasional visits to Aimee Semple McPherson's evangelistic meetings which continue to draw huge crowds. Others told me of the "political recognition" which Labor has secured in recent years as a result of its "safe and sane" tactics. In the main this seemed to consist of an occasional member of organized labor getting some sort of a city appointment.

Jurisdiction Grabs

Long Beach, a short distance south of Los Angeles, in addition to being a famous sea side resort also happens to be in the oil well country, and here I found a small but aggressive union of oil workers. A few years ago its power and influence was a big factor in the western movement but in late years its strength diminished, thanks to the efficiency of some of the modern stool pigeon agencies. Now, however, it shows definite signs of a real comeback and is carrying on active organizing work in the unorganized fields of several states. One of its officers told me that about in proportion to the union's success in organizing were difficulties encountered with other A. F. of L. unions claiming jurisdiction over the various crafts in the oil industry, and here, of course,

will be found a pretty good cross section of the whole A. F. of L. Already the union had been obliged to surrender its members claimed by some four A. F. of L. international unions.

From southern California I turned eastward again. I have already given my impressions of Colorado in the May issue of *LABOR AGE*. I visited in addition to Grand Junction and Denver, adjacent coal mining fields in northern Colorado, such industrial centers as Omaha, Neb.; Lincoln, Neb.; Kansas City, Mo., and St. Louis, Mo.

To describe conditions and my observations in those localities would be mainly repetitive of those already existing and described in the June and July issues of *LABOR AGE*.

Uncertainty Breeds Fear

On the whole, there is much unemployment due not to closed down factories, mills and mines, but with industry on the whole, operating at full speed. The advance of the labor saving machine, the speeding up of production by introducing all sorts of "efficiency" schemes are the chief causes. The uncertainty of things, the insecurity of the job create in the minds of most workers, a sub-conscious cowardice when it comes to matters of organization.

Yet there is unrest. Something is happening in the minds of the workers. The communist appeal is unheeded and the communist movement is almost non-existent west of the Hudson river excepting for the support it gets from certain immigrant types whose heads are in Europe while their feet are in America.

There are varying numbers of militant workers in every section of the country. They are still hopeful. Those who have had the time and inclination to study economic changes to some extent are conscious of the significance of such changes. In the period of post war reaction many of those who have been members of unions have been expelled on one pretext or another, others have been forced to cease being aggressive, and there are still many others who are working in company unionized or wholly unorganized industries. They are biding their time and awaiting a clarion call to intelligent realistic action. They do not expect that that call will come from present day leaders of A. F. of L. unions, nor do they cherish hope of it coming from the communists. They are fed up with unrealized extravagant promises from the one and empty revolutionary phrases from the other.

For one whose entire life has been spent in the organized labor movement it has been more painful than pleasant to have written these observations. It would have been pleasanter to have told of a growing, vigorous, achieving movement. But even radicals and the much despised plain progressives must sometimes pull their heads out of the sand and face realities.

There is a big job for progressives to do. To even start it they need the help of all those who can see farther than the end of their noses and who still believe that the Labor movement has an immense role to play in the future development of society.

C. P. L. A. At Work

Enrolls Members and Advances Movement

OLD Man Apathy's legs are beginning to wobble, lethargy is running to cover and indifference has received a knock out blow. This is the remarkable change in the labor movement seen by keen observers just two months after the Conference for Progressive Labor Action was formed. It would be presumptuous to claim this as the reason, but it is more than a coincidence. Some people are saying that a great deal of credit is due the labor progressives for organizing and asserting themselves, for that very act, which constitutes a challenge to the present leaders of the labor movement, has galvanized some of them into activity. Instead of running away from "troublesome" situations, they are beginning to hang on and to show some of the old fighting spirit. Verily the existence of the C. P. L. A. is a healthy thing for the movement.

As expected, attacks and threats have come from A. F. of L. officialdom and its satellites. Joseph P. Ryan, president of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council, for instance, said: "We are going to kill this new movement before it is born," and, he added, that any union or delegates that affiliated with the C. P. L. A. would be thrown out of the New York central body.

The United Hebrew Trades (New York City) despite its protestation of loyalty to the Socialist movement adopted a resolution of condemnation—and this, after hearing an eloquent address by B. C. Vladeck, manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, urging them not to place a blot on the record of the Jewish working class movement.

On the other hand, the Jewish Socialist Verband with branches in many cities throughout the country voted its approval and called upon its branches to affiliate with the C. P. L. A. The Verband declares that it is the obligation of the Socialists in the unions to take up the struggle for new and progressive methods in unionism. Other organizations which have joined are the International Labor Alliance and the German Workers' Verband.

In the Upholsterers' Journal, President William Kohn, ex-Socialist, rushes in to attack the C. P. L. A. "There cannot be tolerated any unauthorized interference by any group of busybodies in the internal affairs of the A. F. of L.," says he. Busybodies, indeed! As though Labor is not a social force affecting the entire community, on whom it often calls for support. Moreover, most members of the C. P. L. A. are trade unionists, and those who are not are connected with the labor movement in its broader sense.

The A. F. of L.'s circular letter "warning" the unions against the C. P. L. A. was filed without discussion in practically all cases, but in the Philadelphia and New Haven central bodies it provoked an interesting debate which showed that there was considerable

progressive sentiment. A motion to print the letter in the official organ of the Philadelphia body was defeated, and it was merely filed.

Neither has the friendly press been silent. One of the strongest replies to the A. F. of L.'s attack appears in the Nebraska Craftsman, official organ of the Lincoln Central Labor Union, as follows:

A. F. of L. Fears Criticism

"Whenever any organization endeavors to stifle criticism from its own membership it is evident that fear is the impelling motive. The present action of the executive council in this matter but proves all the more that a grave necessity exists for progressive labor action if organized labor is ever going to achieve its high purpose."

The July number of the American Federationist contains two editorials on the C. P. L. A. and its criticism of A. F. of L. policies. In one William Green writes: "Of course, criticism is most wholesome and constructive criticism is essential to progress. But when critics are disguised proponents of another philosophy and are seeking arguments to buttress their program, criticism becomes only unfriendly opposition." So it is not criticism that is objected to, but criticism based upon "another philosophy." What sophistry!

After considering the situation the National Executive Committee of the C. P. L. A. decided to issue a statement insisting upon the right of a critical minority in the labor movement and announcing its determination to continue its attack on reactionary policies and its advocacy of progressive measures. (This statement appears on page 22).

Meanwhile, progressive laborites from a dozen states and from as many unions continue to swell the enrollment list of C. P. L. A. members. The \$1's, \$2's, \$3's and \$5's come rolling into headquarters, with a fair proportion of contributions ranging from \$10 to \$50. Especially heartening is the voluntary pledge of a Teachers' union member of \$10 a month for one year. That is what we call enthusiastic cooperation.

The C. P. L. A., however, is doing more than enrolling members and issuing statements, important as these are. Progressives everywhere are busy doing their bit to advance the movement. Perhaps the work in the South is most outstanding, where such men as Alfred Hoffman, Tom Tippet, William Ross, Jesse Slaughter, Paul Porter and John Herling are inspiring strikers in Marion, N. C., and other points, raising relief funds and contributing to the success of the United Textile Workers organizing campaign.

Norman Thomas, member of the C. P. L. A.'s Executive Committee and chairman of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief has forwarded over \$7,500 to assist the hungry, striking textile workers in the South. This real, important aid is greatly appre-

JAILED FOR UNION



Joe Esposito, Anna Kowalick, Charles Drake and Reno Pametti, hosiery worker pickets, in Hackettstown jail. Union attorney's efforts brought quick release

The strike against the Hackettstown Hosiery Co. was won under the leadership of Carl Holderman, N. Y. and N. J. representative of the union and vice-chairman, C. P. L. A.

ciated by the United Textile Workers, and President Thomas F. McMahon has expressed his thanks to Norman Thomas publicly.

Various committees set up by the C. P. L. A. reported to the meeting of the National Executive Committee held at Brookwood on July 21.

Plans are being developed, according to the report of Clinton S. Golden, chairman of the Organization Committee, for regional conferences and the routing of speakers to address meetings arranged by local branches of the C. P. L. A.

It was decided that the following groups should be eligible for membership: 1, general labor propaganda, educational groups and other progressive workers' organizations; 2, study classes and labor colleges, and, 3, cooperatives.

Dues to be, for the first type of organization, up

to 100 members, \$24 a year, and for each additional 100 members of major fraction, \$6 a year; for study classes and labor colleges, \$2 per class per year.

Every organization that affiliates will be entitled to one member on the National Committee of One Hundred which "in the main is to be made up of key people."

The National Executive Committee voted to call a conference in New York City of affiliated and friendly organizations to work out details of local activity, including the establishment of a forum and a program of lectures.

Progressive Ammunition

J. B. S. Hardman, chairman of the Research and Publications Committee, reported among other things that the committee has undertaken the preparation of the following pamphlets:

- a. Labor's Share in Prosperity.
- b. The New Benevolent Capitalism and Labor.
- c. What the South Means to Labor.
- d. Workers' Education—for What?
- e. The Extent of Labor Organization and Labor Organizability in the U. S. A.
- f. The Machine, the Worker and the Social Order.
- g. Labor Action in Politics.
- h. The Irreducible Minimum of Labor Progressivism.

All were approved with the addition that the Committee was asked to prepare a pamphlet for wide distribution on the need of a Labor Party.

The National Executive Committee also heard a report of progress on a booklet which is to contain a dramatized report of the conference of May 25-26, an account of the events which led up to the formation of the C. P. L. A. and an outline of plans of activity.

Abraham Lefkowitz, chairman of the Committee of Labor Political Activities presented a number of recommendations, including these:

1. That a pamphlet be immediately prepared to show the futility of non-partisan politics and the crying need for independent political action. In this pamphlet the victory and significance of the British Labor Party should be stressed.

2. The adoption of a resolution giving the fullest support to the I. L. G. W. U. in case a strike is declared offering them fullest support including the use of our best speakers.

On July 6, following the polling of the members of the National Executive Committee on the resolution offering the services of speakers and the C. P. L. A.'s complete support, adopted unanimously, a letter was sent to President Benjamin Schlesinger of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union informing him of this decision. Another letter was forwarded to President Schlesinger on July 25, expressing rejoicing over the cloakmakers victory.

A message was also sent to Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald urging him to carry through his plan of visiting the United States, as a personal visit, "would bind more closely together the workers" of both countries.

With the cooperation of Brookwood Labor College,

it was agreed to hold a 10-day Institute on Progressive Labor issues at Brookwood from August 24 to September 2. Details of the program will soon be available and announcements will be sent to all labor progressives on our list. This will be an excellent opportunity for all members and friends of the C. P. L. A. and Brookwood to enjoy a delightful vacation in the hills of Westchester County, combining ideal surroundings with intellectual pursuits.

A review of the situation shows clearly that the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is on the map.

THE MINORITY'S RIGHT TO CRITICIZE

A C. P. L. A. Statement

The fundamental purpose of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is an educational one—education for action.

It strives to develop among the masses of unorganized workers a labor culture and spirit and to prepare the way for organization.

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action also seeks to stimulate in existing labor organizations a progressive, realistic and militant spirit and activity and especially to develop in the youth of the labor movement labor spirit, enthusiasm and intelligence.

It calls for vigorous and unceasing efforts to organize the masses of unorganized workers particularly in the basic industries into industrial unions, for unions that serve as agencies to protect the workers and advance their interests, not as primarily personnel agencies for the employer; for an aggressive, nation-wide campaign for old age pensions, unemployment insurance and other forms of social insurance; for the abandonment of the futile non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor and the building of a labor party, and other progressive measures which will enable the American labor movement to cope effectively with the New Capitalism, with the tremendous aggregations of wealth which dominate industry and politics today.

Already the effects of agitation for militant and progressive action are manifest as in the pushing of the campaign to organize Southern textile workers into the American Federation of Labor, and in the growth of independent political action in such centers as Kenosha, Wis., Niagara Falls, N. Y., and New Bedford, Mass., etc.—developments which we hail with delight.

The rank and file of labor will resent any attempt on the part of reactionary officials to crush an honest, fearless, critical, constructive minority within the labor movement. No movement can hope to live, hope to escape from dry rot and decay if it does not have such an opposition within its ranks. We insist that it is not only the right but the duty of members in a democratic labor organization to agitate new ideas.

President William Green himself declared in a notable address delivered before the 18th Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, at Philadelphia, December 5, 1925, "I have no quarrel with a member of our union who may be classified as a radical. In fact, I

Who would have thought 2 months ago that this organization would attract such wide attention and interest? But it has done so, and the numerous letters of inquiry as well as the personal visits to headquarters during these early stages are but an augury of greater activity to come in the fall. The need for progressive labor action is great—the C. P. L. A. meets that need. While the tide is turning and doubts are assailing the reactionaries, our work has only begun. A strong and active C. P. L. A., with a large membership will soon put new life and vigor in the American labor movement.

am glad to see that spirit manifest itself. I would rather see that alive in every organization than I would to see it dried up with dry rot. I learn a great deal from those who express their progressive ideas. We need them in our movement. They are the salt of the earth because many times they inspire us to action and to service."

This tolerance of progressive and radical opposition and propaganda is the traditional attitude of the American Federation of Labor and the labor movement the world over. There never was any justification for the abandonment of this historic policy. It would be deplorable if the result of experience with disruptive communist tactics should be used as a pretext to foist a dictatorship of officials upon the American labor movement.

The rank and file of organized labor will expect its leaders to meet the issues raised by honest criticism and to welcome it as necessary for the life and progress of the movement. It will expect that no steps be taken which would deprive the American labor movement of the services of vigorous elements in its own ranks and in addition deprive it of the respect of all progressive and liberal forces in America interested in democracy and social progress.

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action does not promote or countenance the formation of so-called "nuclei," groups of workers in labor organizations who act under instructions and orders from an outside agency and carry out its behests.

Furthermore, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is not a dual trade union center or federation of labor. It is not interested in the formation of any such dual organization. It disapproves of the plans now under way by the Communists to call a conference in Cleveland for the formation of a Communist trade union center. As we see it such a movement is disruptive and totally out of accord with the needs of the workers in America today.

The charge that the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is out to destroy the American Federation of Labor is false and absurd. It is out to do all in its power to bring the millions of American workers into the labor movement in order that organized labor may be a mighty agency able to cope with company unionism, the open shop, injunctions, yellow-dog contracts, and the whole regime of Republicanism, big business, militarism and imperialism, and so that it may lead American workers on to ever greater victories and a richer life.

Research For Workers

By LOUIS STANLEY

XV. WRITING UP THE "STUFF"

AT this point in this series it is well to pause before the concluding article to discuss the method of writing up the results of your research. The inexperienced investigator generally is of the opinion that once he has accumulated his data, his work is practically at an end. To summarize in writing what he has discovered seems to him the most formal of tasks. This is a very serious error. It is an attitude of mind that must be immediately corrected, if good writing is to result. The researcher soon comes to realize that the process of putting down on paper the conclusions of his inquiry is the most creative part of his work.

The first requirement for productive writing is good note taking. Notes should not be taken in note books—except loose-leaf ones. The reason is: each note must refer to but a single subject, the more narrow the better. Later, or sometimes during the course of the work, the notes are arranged according to topics and sub-topics. Small index cards that can be filed in boxes for the purpose can be obtained cheaply at stationery stores. Pads are good, too. Ordinary typewriting paper, sometimes cut in half, is very serviceable. When pages are used, they can be filed in folders and the latter kept in anything from an expensive filing cabinet to a vegetable or fruit box. The important thing to remember is to put only one note on each page or card.

The next step is to take notes most efficiently. Researchers vary among themselves about details but all agree that each note should contain the source of the information as precisely as possible and the topic under which the note is to be filed. A good method is to place in the top left hand corner the full name of the author, the complete title, the volume, the edition, the series, if any, the date and place of publication, and the exact page or pages of the book or periodical consulted and in the corresponding right hand corner the topic and, if necessary, the sub-topic. After this preliminary information the material to be copied or summarized from your reference text follows. Do not be niggardly about your notes. It is better for future reference to have too much than too little and it is preferable to have the exact wording of the original than a resume. Besides, it is frequently a saving of time to copy than

to stop to figure out what a good summing up would be. Here is reproduced a sample note:

One probably approaches an investigation with some general idea of the main outline. Folders can be marked to receive pages bearing notes on particular points or guide marks can be set up behind which cards can be filed on appropriate topics. In the course of a study it is more than likely that the outline with which one began to work is modified or abandoned and another substituted. The process of classification helps you to think out your problem and discover where your research is strongest and where weakest.

Classification is not always simple. One may arrange facts according to time, space, quantity, quality, individuals or what not. Sometimes one begins with one type, later substitutes for it another, and when the writing begins a third. Most often cross-classification and sub-classification are necessary, as when a subject is treated historically, geographically, and topically at the same time or consecutively. Classifying and re-classifying, we wish to emphasize, are not mechanical work. Upon them depends the originality of your contribution and the proper presentation of your material.

As you proceed with your writing, shuffling your notes as you go along, you will find it wise to put down in parenthesis next to every statement you make the exact reference to the authority you quote or summarize. Such a reference should contain information as to author, title, volume, series, page and in some cases the edition and date and place of publication to enable your reader to judge the value of your source of information. Even if in your final draft you omit all or most of your references this is a good thing to do. It makes you stick to the facts and is of great help in later checking up your data. However, do not be unnecessarily scholarly.

Sources of information may be classified as primary or secondary. A primary source is one where the ultimate responsibility for the information rests, as for example, the United States Census reports. A secondary source is one which is derived from a primary or in a broad sense, another secondary source, such as a reference to the population of the United States in 1920 in a magazine article. Your references, wherever possible, should be to primary sources.

For Your Own Research

1. Begin a file for newspaper and magazine clippings and pamphlets on some subject in which you are interested, using the suggestions made here for filing. Paste the clippings on sheets of paper—typewriting paper will do—as you proceed.

2. Prepare a report on the subject of your interest.

John R. Commons and Associates,

Strikes-1894

"History of Labour in the United States," Vol II, New York, 1918.

P. 502.—"The Pullman strike began May 11, 1894, and grew out of a demand of certain employees in the shops of the Pullman Palace Car Company, situated at Pullman, Illinois, for a restoration of the wages paid during the previous year."

Flashes from the Labor World

Southern Labor In the Headlines

Less than a tenth of the country's industrial workers are subjected to Southern exploitation: but more than a half of the big labor news of the year comes from Dixie. Topsy Dixie is growing up industrially and her pains are expressed in strikes, lock-outs, violence and the growth of labor consciousness.

To the news man sitting at the desk of a national labor news service come a steady stream of telegrams and air mail stories tracing the kaleidoscopic march of Southern workers toward emancipation. Gastonia, Marion, Greenville, Nashville, New Orleans are names from which the busy labor editor selects for his lead story on page one. Nor is it all about cotton mill workers. Rayon mills, street cars, stove shops, Negro farm laborers are also the source of the news that comes tumbling out of Dixie.

It was thus in the "old days" in the North—in the 90's, when industrial expansion was ripping out old customs, tapping new labor supply sources. Now the North is stabilized to some measure, strikes are small and spasmodic and the news stream is sluggish. Only in parts of the North and East where senility has set in does labor make news; in the troubled New England shoe industry particularly.

* * *

Does that mean that the class struggle has been called off for some 20,000,000 or more American wage earners? Does it mean that the backward sections of the American working class must be relied on now for militancy, or else those in diseased or dying industries?

No one who has followed the brilliant strategy of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers will answer those questions in the affirmative. Comparatively well paid, their conditions far above the average, the knitters nevertheless make labor history in Kenosha, Indianapolis, Reading, Easton, Hackettstown, Brooklyn, Gloucester. Contrasting to the leadership of most In-

ternational unions, the Hosiery workers believe in hitting hard and effectively, bidding or public support, encircling the enemy employer with a ring of hostile sentiment.

That policy takes initiative, imagination and daring. Chair-warmers hate those qualities. Union politicians are too busy unseating the union poli-

THE "SCOTCH TWINS"



F. P. Photo

Ellen and Lillias Baird, girl strikers from Kenosha, who served 20 days in the Milwaukee House of Correction, arrive in New York for a speaking tour of the East.

The Allen-A Co. is on the run and admits it lost \$800,000 last year. The girls are in the fight to the finish—the finish of the Allen-A Co.

tician just ahead to worry much about problems of union strategy. Others are too busy conscientiously going through routine tasks that a \$35 a week girl secretary could do with more dispatch.

* * *

New Orleans made brilliant history in the past month. For the first time since those fevered days of 1919 in

Seattle when the Central Labor Council declared its general strike and its official spokesman declared labor was "on the road that leads no one knows where" a city-wide strike was called. But like the Soviet president in a Caucasus village who told American trade unionists that union leaders of Western Europe were more afraid of a workers' revolution than of continued capitalist domination, so the New Orleans union officials came smack up against the prospect of a general strike, and withdrew in horror. A general strike, they could see, is a dangerous weapon, with federal troops, criminals, passionate workers, a cruel and callous employing firm, all elements in a possible social explosion.

* * *

When new chapters are added to that illuminating book, U. S.—Strike-breaker, the New Orleans situation will get generous attention. A federal judge issued a federal injunction against street car strikers, and a federal marshal took personal responsibility for breaking their strike. Protests to the attorney-general and the president of the United States were of course without avail. With federal deputies fore and aft, and cruising behind, street cars braved the wrath of the aroused New Orleans populace. Back of the deputies was the threat of the marines, of regular army troops.

Strikers were overawed by the majestic force of the United States government. Their sympathizers ceased to overturn and burn scab operated cars. Imported gunmen-scabs cowered, nevertheless, in the heavily guarded car barns and bondholders pondered the futility of federal force against workers as street cars operated passenger-less. Scabs, sweepings of the Eastern slums, drank, cursed and bumped trolley cars into autos.

* * *

And still many labor papers, including one of astonishingly wide national circulation, continue to picture the United States government as a

benevolent old gent always on the side of the workers and always admonishing the boss to be gentle in his exploitation. How do they get that way? Foreign labor men sneer at the low cultural level of the leaders of American workers. Defensively, these leaders sneer right back at "theorists" and "visionaries." But is it not an obscurantism that is indefensible that "leaders" who are in reality only brakes on progress should fall or fear to draw the logical conclusion from the appearance of the government—as cop, injunction judge, federal marshal, president—in every strike and labor struggle on the side of the boss or playing a "neutral" role when there is no neutrality?

* * *

The approaching super-trust that bids fair to dominate the United States in outright fashion before another decade—steel, electricity, chemicals—is represented in New Orleans as the enemy of the car strikes. General Electric, acting through Electric Bond & Share, its subsidiary, which in turn controls the New Orleans Public Service (!) Co., gave the order that Secretary of Labor Davis was not to be accepted as an arbitrator. It spoke through Sidney Z. Mitchell, head of Electric Bond & Share.

* * *

Many organized workers have long wondered why the thoroughly unionized anthracite region of northeastern Pennsylvania should be an open shop hell for the wives and daughters of miners. Many efforts have been made in the past by the United Textile Workers to mobilize the United Mine Workers in a campaign to unionize the silk mills that have clustered near the collieries to absorb cheap female labor. These efforts have rarely gone beyond the resolution and ephemeral publicity stage, with the 12-hour day actually rampant in the silk mills.

But Wilkes-Barre cops were beating and riding down striking girls in the Hess-Goldsmith mills when District 1, U. M. W. A., met in convention in that coal center. Indignation ran high and many wanted to leave the convention hall to picket with the girls. Mayor Hart, who had been effusive in his greetings to the miners—who control the anthracite politically—was taken aback when the convention demanded an end to his police brutality.

Now, with aggressive organizing tactics, the way is opened for victory in the Hess-Goldsmith strike and for the unionization of the important silk industry of that region. Only the most fatuous, however, really expect that to happen. Brains, hard work, enthusiasm from the rank and file are essential for that hard task.

In Philadelphia the bulwarks of anti-unionism are falling one by one under the blows of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Hitherto an open shop stronghold, Philadelphia is now under siege. Only one or two companies are being tackled at a time, the union picking its weakest foes. After a year or more of this skirmishing, the Amalgamated hopes to have the union flag waving over the city of brotherly love. A general strike may intervene before that is possible.

* * *

After all, labor unions are no more important than churches, fraternal societies or the Ku Klux Klan. So rules the radio commission in refusing WOFL a wave length of its own. If labor can have its own wave length, than surely the Masons and Odd Fellows should be permitted the same privilege, argued the big business-minded radio commissioners, reports Laurence Todd. No, organized labor must learn its place. In the catalog of organizations, it is merely one of scores using the word "American" in its title.

This is the logical outcome of the beautiful civic-mindedness of many leading labor officials who have insisted that labor is but one among a multitude of organizations, humble in its aspirations, dreaming not of a social order based on workers' rule but of a "legitimate" place in a static

society along with the W. C. T. U., the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the Knights of Pythias.

* * *

New Brunswick's cigar girls were skeptical about unionism at first. Their minds had been poisoned by boss and press. New Brunswick is an open shop town where unionism means strikes, hunger, struggle, police, jail. These unpleasant prospects outweighed advantages of higher wages, shop control, social development, shorter hours. But there was no alternative to strike two months ago, and now there is no alternative to unionism. So the girls are joining the Cigar Makers International.

* * *

Southern textile organizers read ruefully a headline in Labor's News, the weekly magazine published by Federated Press that Green Panhandles for Militarism. "Wish he'd do a little panhandling for us", they sighed, as they read that the president of the American Federation of Labor was chairman of a committee that is passing the hat for the citizens' military training camp. At the same time cotton mill strikers at Marion, N. C. would have faced starvation had not the Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief, whose leaders have been under the fire of A. F. of L. officials for years, not rushed \$750 to them. So it was at Elizabethton, where this same committee furnished half the sinews of war for the great rayon strike while treasuries of a score of international unions burst with gold and stocks and bonds.

This department prepared from Federated Press news reports by Harvey O'Connor, Eastern Bureau Manager of The Federated Press.

ALL EYES ON THE CHARLOTTE TRIAL

The defense has scored the first victory in the trial of the 16 Gastonia textile workers and their Communist leaders. The judge has moved the trial from Gastonia, fed with Communist-baiting hysteria, to the somewhat calmer atmosphere of Charlotte. There, on August 26th, the trial will be resumed. The Civil Liberties Union has been impressed with the possibility of a fair trial, basing its view on the behavior of the presiding judge. But the strongest assurance of a fair trial will not depend upon the court, but upon the degree of popular sympathetic interest aroused among the millions of American workers. Removal of the trial court to Charlotte and efforts of the judge to conduct a fair trial should not be permitted to lull American workers into any false feeling of security.

In Other Lands

CHINA AND RUSSIA

Until recently China and Russia were the two friendliest countries in Asia. Observers on the spot emphatically state that Soviet Russia is in a large measure responsible for the success of the revolution in China, which was Russia's greatest contribution to the cause of freedom in despotic East. Since the United States got into grips with France, following our own Revolution, there has been no greater metamorphosis in national and international affairs than that of China and Russia. During the past four months the Nanking government and the Northern Junta have been doing everything possible to provoke Russia. They raided its consulates and arrested its citizens on the slightest provocation. It is charged that they even turned over to the imperialist and capitalistic powers, for a consideration, the material found in the Soviet compounds. That international courtesy and law were violated did not seem to worry the Nanking Junta in the least. As long as it was Russia's consulates that were raided the other diplomats and consuls did not protest. They seemed to, and on one occasion did, approve the raids. Now they have gone a step further and have attacked Russia's railroad in Manchuria. The powers behind Nanking thought the Soviet would turn the other cheek and get slapped again. Instead Russia has mobilized its forces and is ready to invade Manchuria and recapture the railroad. Hostilities may be severe if they happen, but China will have no chance against the cavalry and legions of infantry of Russia. They are inured to Asiatic weather. And they will hold the lines for the Soviet. After a few losses in battle China will yield and Russia will be easy in its terms. But it will never give up control of the railroad. That is too much a part of the age-old struggle and development of Russia in Asia.

The Soviet lost territory in Europe due to the Czar's blunders and his graft-ridden navy and army, but it more than made up for the losses in Asia. It added Khiva and Mongolia and other extensive lands to the Soviet domains in the East, besides holding Siberia intact from the Japanese and British imperialists.

The United States is placed in a most amusing and ironical position in that while it has consistently refused to recognize the Soviet government, it was the first to appeal for peace in the name of the Kellogg treaty. One wonders what Haiti and Nicaragua are thinking of when they read the news of our State department's pacific work. One notices that the French and the British have joined the United States on the peace mission; whether it is a prelude to an onslaught on Russia from other quarters through other boundaries in the south and east is hard to say. Four years ago a campaign along this line was talked of with India and Australia as bases of operations. The present Labor government while placed in an embarrassing position will hardly countenance anything imperialist or punitive in regard to Russia. Had Churchill and his ilk been in Downing street the Soviet would have found itself in a cul de sac with no way out but humili-

ating surrender; for Poincare would have backed the London imperialists to the limit, with Poland playing its usual treacherous role. The world is fortunate that at this stage the Governments of the British Empire, of Canada, South Africa and Australia are in the hands of men who are not imperially minded.

POINCARE HELPS BANKERS

The Reparations tangle is at last on the point of being straightened out. Just why Poincare threw over the smaller capitalist groups in the Chamber for the international crowd does not appear on the surface. The petty bourgeoisie have sung their swan song and the great industrialists and big bankers have moved in to the Government of Paris and taken control of its finances and foreign affairs. Poincare will be canonized a saint by the American and British bankers and the franc is assured stabilization for years to come. Wall street will have its place in the French councils and will support the Paris exploiters in their scheme of conquest and measures to keep other nations down. The Germans will be made to toe the mark and pay up. Berlin in future will receive less sympathy when it complains of the severe tax on its resources to pay the reparation money. Germany's unemployed has reduced considerably during the past two months. It would indicate that the economic position of the Reich is much better than that of its neighbors.

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

Much as progressives and radicals may hope for a United States of Europe, economically and politically, it will not be realized so soon, despite the pretty as well as the threatening speeches made by European statesmen when they were discussing American tariff legislation. Italy's interests conflict with France in the Near East and in Africa. Germany is forced to become a world economy in order to live and pay her bills. France is experiencing the industrial revolution in all its vigor and as she is financially strong she cannot be limited to Europe. Her commercial and political interests as a great imperial power often run counter to Britain and Italy. Spain cannot bother with narrow European economy. Britain must remain a world producer in order to live. Any attempt at a Zollverein for trade and manufacture would have to include South America and Japan in order to succeed against this country.

BRITAIN'S TEXTILE STRIKE

The sensation of a new Labor Government has worn off and the difficulties of the MacDonald cabinet are developing just as we predicted. Labor's hold on the control will be challenged but will not be seriously threatened for at least nine months. After that Lloyd George may decide to dispute MacDonald's power. The trouble in the cotton and woolen industries has been put up to Miss Margaret Bondfield for settlement. No one condemns her for failing to bring the warring parties together. The manufacturers are out for their pound of flesh and the strike is on.

PATRICK L. QUINLAN



"Say It With Books"



THE A B C BOOK OF INTERNATIONALISM

Labor and Internationalism, by Lewis L. Lorwin. Macmillan Co., \$3.

THIS book fills a gap in labor literature and will remain for some time the standard work on its subject. The vague and incoherent beginnings, the great anticipatory inspiring gesture of the First International and its internecine quarrels, the imposing facade of the Second International and its failure in the World War, the industrial, general and trade internationalisms—all the story is well told. There seems little excluded, for the Christian, Communist and Syndicalist Internationalisms are treated and also the A. F. of L.'s relations with Europe, the proposal to build hemispheric or continental Internationalisms, and the suspicion that the Latin-American unions have concerning the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

To supplement the index, very necessary in a book with such a wealth of detail, Mr. Lorwin has given a sort of Who's Who in Labor Internationalism. Unfortunately correction and amendment are necessary in the case of Ernest Bevin (who is not secretary of the Gas Workers); of George Hicks (who is secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers and has never been secretary of the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives); of Frank Hodges; of W. M. Citrine and Tom Shaw, M. P. Again, are there no figures later than 1924 dealing with the ratio of organized workers to population by countries? (In this table, by the way, the U. S. A. percentage is 3.5 as is that of Cuba, compared with 16 in Austria and 13.6 in Britain.) Mr. Lorwin (p. 525) gives the membership of the Communist Party of Britain as about 9,000 while its own official membership figures in January, 1929, was 3,500. Apparently, while the International Teachers Federation (Amsterdam, 1927) is listed in the trade secretariats, Mr. Lorwin has not heard of the Education Workers International (Paris) which provoked the I. F. T. U. to set up the former. There is a slip on p. 79 and p. 429 where "Henderson" is suggested to be a leader of the Independent Labor Party. (Hardie or Snowden is the name there required). A serious omission is that, although Mr. Lorwin advocates (p. 603) "a greater internationalism of mind and method" and deplores that workers have only "a vague picture of what labor in other countries is like," he neglects as an antidote to "labor nationalism" the work of such bodies as Sennacieca Asocio Tutmonda (S. A. T.) composed of workers—Esperantists in every country, running its weekly paper and building up that personal contact which makes internationalism a real

and practical thing. Among other bodies the International Labor Office and the International Transport Federation, make use of the international language in their bulletins and correspondence.

But all these are minor points which can be righted at reprinting and should not create an under-valuation of this most comprehensive yet readable survey. Mr. Lorwin ends on a pessimistic note forecasting lesser activity and influence for the Internationalisms as far as the immediate future is concerned; their divisions will not be headed and only in the event of war would they seriously threaten the existing system. He has many facts on his side. Despite the fact that some 1½ million American trade unionists are linked up through their unions to the world trade secretariats, American labor is remote from the European movement and even the union immigrant here usually fails to transfer. Trade union leaders in the United States certainly seem more anxious to join with their respective groups of employers to seek tariff protection rather than to build up trade union standards on an international scale against sweated goods.

But all is not lost. The first fruits of the Labor victory in Britain was to ratify the Washington convention of the I. L. O. concerning the eight-hour day, which will in Britain be generally applied and not enjoyed only by a small group of craftsmen. S. A. T. is successfully holding its Ninth Congress at Leipzig. Experience also will teach. Listen to Mr. Woll (quoted in N. Y. Times June 3, 1929): "World unity of labor has become more imperative as organizations of capital have become more and more involved in international relations, as American capital has gone more and more into European countries to establish or control plants and while European capital has come into our country to establish plants, as is notable in the case of Elizabethton, Tenn., where American troops have been doing guard duty over plants largely owned abroad." (Is this, by the way, a welcome response to C. P. L. A. criticism?)

Let the A. F. of L. take the logical action to meet this situation and progressives will be pleased to assist.

The intervention of the United States into foreign affairs seems in the past to have had unfortunate endings. As Tom Paine's letter and the key of the Bastille—both displayed at Mt. Vernon—attest, American revolutionary ideals played a part in destroying that dread dungeon. But the interpretation now given is that the first American Revolution was so complete that it is a crime to even think about another. American Labor started Europe cel-

LABOR AGE

celebrating solidarity and the 8-hour day on May 1st and then fixed its own separate Labor Day in September. The International Labor Office was part of the Wilson plan, of a League of Nations, and Gompers certainly pictured himself as its first president, but in 1920 the A. F. of L. even ceased to pay dues to the International Federation of Trade Unions—which it had helped to re-establish in 1919—and despite the hope of Gompers in 1924 that reconciliation should be made, nothing has been done. The C. P. L. A. program advocates “work for an International Labor Movement and a closer union of all workers of the world.” Mr. Woll in the June “Photo Engraver” suggests that international unity is possible because the German and British unions “are now pursuing policies more identical with those of our own unions.” Not the “united front” for advance but “the united back” for retreat! However, all those desirous of understanding the obstacles to internationalism and of removing them cannot neglect this book.

MARK STARR.

BRITAIN'S FUTURE

The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy, by G. D. H. Cole, The MacMillan Company.

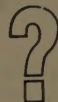
THOSE who were inspired by the originality and enthusiasm of G. D. H. Cole's former books such as “Labour in the Commonwealth” may be disappointed by the matter-of-fact treatment in his new book, “The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy.” In this work Cole, the realist, faces a practical situation in a practical way with a view to working out a plan which will enable the British Labor Party to win over the majority of the British electorate so that it may secure control of the key positions in industry, and then force society increasingly to accept socialist canons of behavior.

As a realist facing a practical situation Cole the guild-socialist propagandist becomes an opportunist working within the capitalist system to secure not immediate nationalization of industry but policy control so as to decrease unemployment, improve working conditions and living standards, and thus give England and the world a practical demonstration that labor may be entrusted with full power to carry out its ultimate program of socialization. During the transition period Cole believes it wise to leave administration and ownership in private hands so as to force them to share in profit or losses rather than to buy them out and give them a guaranteed interest forever. Ownership can later be taxed out of existence. In a word, Cole favors a progressive transformation of the decaying capitalist industrialism into socialism.

What is Cole's detailed program for winning over the electorate to entrust labor to carry out its ultimate program of socialization?

1. Reduce unemployment by undertaking a vast program of social and economic reconstruction through a voluntary National Labor Corps.

2. Eliminate the traditional individualism of British employers by a program of rationalization of industry,



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taking care to safeguard the welfare and rights of the workers.

3. No general wage increase to be immediately undertaken; instead inaugurating a redistribution of income by Family Allowances financed out of National Taxation so as to raise standards of the poorest and to provide minimum wages for the worst paid trades.

4. Socialization of the Bank of England and the Joint Stock Companies; control credit to force capital to flow into industries promoting social welfare, and inhibit its flow into non-social industries.

5. Socialization of the land to expand the increase of home produced foods; the stabilization of farm production and payment for land by bonds redeemed from rent of land.

6. The elimination of the exploitation of labor in the imperial dominions by humanizing imperialism.

Cole abandons his old ideas of socialization and would substitute social control of policy, especially in cotton and coal, the management to be in the hands of expert commissions responsible to Parliament in matters of high policy but with wide administrative powers and functions. He believes unions are no longer in a position to meet the new situation in industry and would reorganize them. He would have the Expert Commissions aided by Union Shop Committees whom he would arm with statutory power with a right of appeal against the decisions of the Expert Commission.

To secure funds for the reorganization of industry, Cole would raid the Sinking Fund, refund the debt with lower interest rates, and later wipe out the debt as part of the program of the expropriation of inherited wealth. He would increase death duties to wipe out inheritances in one or two generations by using a combination of the plans of Dr. Hugh Dalton and Prof. Rignano.

Mr. Cole's book is the first serious attempt to develop a policy of transition to win for the Labor Party the overwhelming support of the British electorate so that they may be in a position to usher in socialism by evolutionary methods. History will tell how sound is this first attempt at industrial statesmanship.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ.

"MEN AND MACHINES"

The Machine Stampede, by Louis Francis Budenz, a review of Stuart Chase's "Men and Machines" (publishers, The Macmillan Co.) will be featured in the Book Review Section next month.

Readers of "Labor Age" will be interested to know that Mr. Chase, in one of his chapters, quotes from an article in "Labor Age" by Dr. Herman Frank. The bibliography also directs attention to a series of articles by Dr. Frank published in this magazine last year.

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THE AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK

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